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SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

AMONG THE ESKIMO IN FROBISHER BAY, N.W.T.

by



Charlotte Jean Hodgkinson

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1972

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE AND CONTINUING EDUCATION AMONG THE ESKIMO IN FROBISHER BAY, N.W.T.", submitted by Charlotte Jean Hodgkinson, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

ABSTRACT

The traditionally nomadic culture of the Northern Canadian Eskimo is rapidly being replaced by a wage economy. Illustrative of this fact is the town of Frobisher Bay, N.W.T., where relocated Baffin Island Eskimos have adapted to the roles expected of urban townsmen.

In Frobisher Bay, the period from 1950 to 1970, was marked by the confrontation of the traditional Eskimo way of life with the alien Eurocanadian way. Eurocanadians, on the one hand, were eager to integrate the Eskimo who, for his part, wished to preserve his own traditional habits, attitudes, and values. The resulting sociocultural changes can provide guidelines for future development in this new northern urban community.

Historically, the Eskimos were isolated by climate and geography. From the first recorded white contact, to more intensive contact in the twentieth century came a new need for settlements and the beginnings of integration. In Frobisher Bay which became the largest urban settlement in the Eastern Arctic, the sociocultural changes occurred in fairly regular phases which can be analyzed to help guide educational planning.

Education and community planning need not necessitate total integration. Through the stages of orientation,

rehabilitation, accommodation and identification, Eskimos have maintained their distinctive ethnic identity. At the same time, they have accepted to a degree, and in their own manner, such Eurocanadian ways as urban living, wage employment and community development.

The rationale in this study emphasizes Eskimo participation in educational planning and development during modernization. Education can become an integrative force during the orientation, rehabilitation, accommodation, and identification phases of change. A distinctive identity should aid Eskimo people in Frobisher Bay in more clearly defining their position as an ethnic group within the Canadian nation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere thanks are extended to those who contributed time and effort to make this study possible: to Dr. Harry Garfinkle for his continuing interest, direction and assistance in guiding this study; to Dr. George Kupfer and Dr. David Wangler; who were on the thesis committee and to those people in Frobisher Bay, particularly Mrs. Rose Ookpik for comments regarding the types of programs needed in the North; and to Mrs. Dolores Eliuk for her willingness to type this manuscript. Thanks needs to be extended to my three children, Peter, Gordon, and Mildred, for patience and understanding in allowing time to study and write this thesis.

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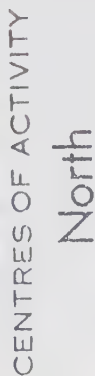
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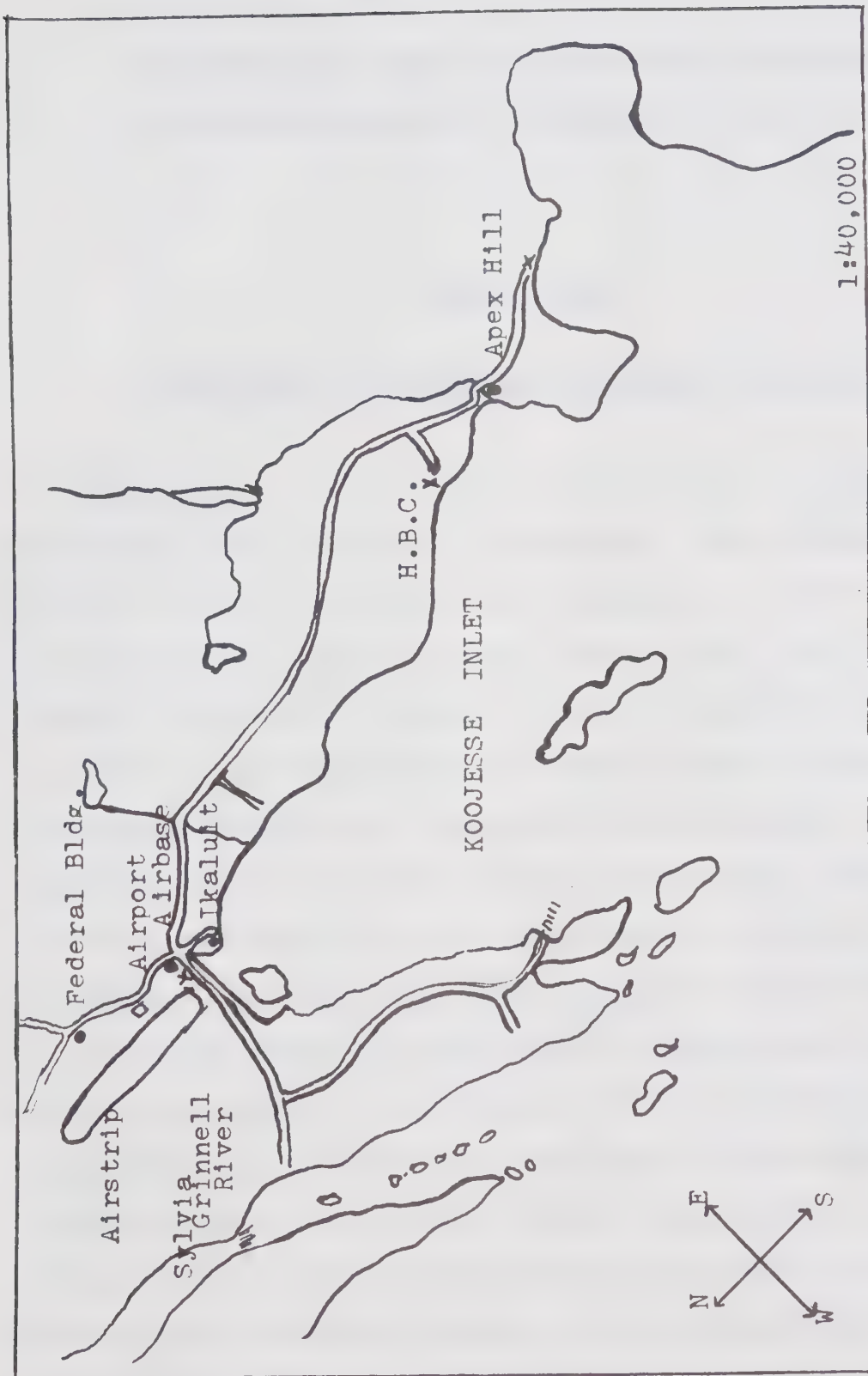
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MAP OF FROBISHER BAY

SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE AND CONTINUING EDUCATION
AMONG THE ESKIMO IN FROBISHER BAY, N.W.T.

Chapter One

A Sociocultural Approach To Eskimo Education

Education in intercultural communities is closely associated with historical, economical, and cultural changes. Frobisher Bay, a relatively new community on Baffin Island, is a particular community where Eskimos have settled and adapted to a new life style in a short period of time. After considering the anthropological implications of Eskimos undergoing change in an intercultural community, educational objectives and a proposed project for home and community life education for adults will be developed to illustrate how education can provide for satisfaction of Eskimo aspirations.

The importance of education in intercultural communities will be considered in relationship to the geography, history, economics and sociocultural conditions of the Eskimo people. Frobisher Bay is the largest Eskimo community in the Canadian north. The majority of Eskimos have relocated there from various parts of Baffin Island. On the other hand, the Eurocanadians (southern white people) are mainly employed

with the government and allied agencies and are nonpermanent residents.

Frobisher Bay presents a unique study in isolation. It is a frontier town and the largest non-white settlement in the Canadian Arctic. The uniqueness stems from the fact that the Eskimo people have adapted to both urbanization and modernization in the short period of twenty years. Until 1950, Frobisher Bay was insignificant in the development of Baffin Island. During the 1950's, its strategic location, first as a Distant Early Warning station, with an airbase and harbor, and as a Strategic Air Command base for the American armed services, created a new and important town along the Baffin coast.

A. The Problem Of Modernization And Education For Eskimos

Within twenty years, Frobisher Bay grew from a small migratory population of twenty or thirty Eskimos trading in and out of Ward Inlet's post, into a thriving northern center of over two thousand people. The people located themselves into three distinct townsites. (See Map of Frobisher Bay.) Each townsite initially was distinct and was established for different reasons. Ikaluit was largely unplanned and the population was entirely Eskimo. In 1964, six-hundred Eskimo lived in Ikaluit. Apex Hill, on the other hand, was completely planned as an Eskimo model community of some 250 people, who were grouped around a Rehabilitation Center and allied services of school, trading post, and church. The Airbase section

housed the Eurocanadian government employees and included eight Eskimo families, numbering about forty-five people, who were part of the government integration program.

My experience as a participant observer in Frobisher Bay during 1963-64, motivated research on the topic of continuing education for integrating Eskimos. As a home economics teacher and adult educator, I was unable to fully involve Eskimos in a meaningful educational program. The teen-age girls adjusted well to home economics programs that were offered but did not relate too readily to the usual classroom subjects. The adult women created problems. My Eurocanadian lack of knowledge of Eskimo history and ethnography created dilemmas in establishing class projects with the women from Ikaluit and Airbase. Before I began an educational program with the women, I worked with an interpreter visiting all the homes and attempting to assess needs and establish interest in attending classes. The Ikaluit women showed great interest and willingness to attend classes but were unable to decide upon the kinds of classes they wanted. Another teacher at Apex Hill began her cooking and sewing classes early in September. She remarked that they were not too meaningful. Later she did home visitations and then adjusted her programs to suit the women in her particular community. The Airbase women were able to contribute ideas such as utilization of government rations when preparing meals, deciding upon spending money

and learning how to order from catalogues. Much of my time during the first three months of the adult education program was spent orienting myself to Eskimo people.

The orientation proved invaluable when the programs began. I was able to speak some words of Eskimo and with role play and dramatization, many enjoyable sessions were held. As I review the types of programs and evaluate the successes and failures of the programs I taught, the question arises about feasibility of particular programs for particular sociocultural divisions of the people in Frobisher Bay. For example, what was of value to the Airbase women was beyond the scope of the Ikaluit women. The projects for Ikaluit women were geared to sewing and clothing, discovering new tastes in foods and washing dishes with hot soapy running water, whereas the Airbase women thought in terms of using surplus food supplies, budgeting and living in fairly modern homes.

These questions began to encourage further investigation regarding education in intercultural situations. A recurring concern was what happens when groups of people move from a basis of relative nomadic subsistence into an urban center. How do people generally group themselves, and then regroup, and eventually develop the life styles of modern townsmen after short periods of contact with Eurocanadians? What adjustments are made during contact in a new town? What adaptations occur when Eskimos change their way of life?

To answer these questions, this study will analyze some of the historical, ethnographic, and sociocultural material that pertains to Eskimos in the intercultural community of Frobisher Bay. The major purpose of this thesis is to develop an educational program which allows Eskimos choice in sociocultural development. This choice should provide alternatives for Eskimos as to whether they adopt Eurocanadian standards or are able to identify with a modern Eskimo townsman prototype.

B. Specific Problems That Relate To This Study

An intercultural community is frequently equated to frontier development. When two cultures are in contact recurring problems occur. At various historical stages of contact and during sociocultural phases of change, parallel problems develop. For analyzing change, (Chapter 2 and 3), and summarizing these changes, (Table 3a, 3b, and 3c., p. 49), the following questions based on Smelser will be discussed. (Smelser, 1967; 30-41)

1. What are the economic bases for various phases of change among Eskimos?
2. What are the sociocultural aspects involved in modernization among Eskimos?
3. How do people become unified into communities when they migrate from camp settlements into urban centers?
4. How can Eskimo people become involved in decision-making processes at their community level?
5. How can a semblance of Eskimo culture be maintained during modernization?

C. Definition Of Terms

The white Eurocanadians and the Eskimos are referred to as "Kabloona" and "Innuit". "Kabloona" is the title referring to Eurocanadians or white people who have come into northern Canada either to work or to live. The Eskimos call themselves, "Innuit", meaning, "The People", which historically depicts their concept of themselves as being isolated from all other people. Modernization is the process of structural differentiation, "by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment". (Black, 1966; 7)

There are stage and phase differentiations during transition from subsistence and nomadic economy to urbanized technology and wage economy. The role of the individual can change quite rapidly from a hunter-trapper type to a person working eight hours a day or living on relief. The roles and divisions of labor within the family unit have transcended the informal traditions bounded by ritual and have become formalized, flexible, and institutionalized in the urban setting. In the modern economy, a diversity of technological skills and services are ordered within a regulated community network. The process of change is called, "Integration". It includes the adaptation through orientation, rehabilitation, and accommodation to a new life style (identification) during sociocultural change.

D. Related References

The Eskimos have been the curiosity subjects of both researchers and the popular press for a considerable length of time. With the exception of the book, "I Nuligak", (Metayer, 1966), little has been written from the point of view of the Eskimos.

Giddings (1967), provides reliable information on the prehistoric Eskimo culture known as Dorset and Thule. General information on Eskimo culture and history was obtained from, "People Of Light And Dark", (van Steensel, 1966), "The Unbelievable Land", (Smith, 1964), and from articles in publications of "North", (D.I.A.N.D.), and "Beaver", (Hudson's Bay Company). Bethune (1945), Jenness (1964), and Weyer (1953), deal with contact situations and bridge the information gap between the time of the Fifth Thule Expedition Reports and intensive contact situations of the post 1940 period.

Anthropological and ethnographic information specifically dealing with Eskimos in contact situations is wide and varied. Stefansson (1914), and Peter Freuchen (1961), deal with initial contact situations. Frank Vallee (1962-1968), Douglas Valentine (1968), Weyer (1967), Oswalt (1963), Graburn (1969), Carpenter (1964), Chance (1965-1968), and Hughes (1959-1965), deal with fairly recent intercultural contact between Kabloona and Innuait. The Honigmans (1965-1967), Anne McElroy (1968), and Yatsushiro (1963), deal specifically with problems that relate to the growth of

Frobisher Bay within the past two decades. Government reports furnished figures of population growth and provide information on the various projects undertaken by the agencies and departments.

Theoretical references for development and social change topics included the works of Smelser (1967), Malinowski (1961), Lloyd (1967), Clark (1962), Chance (1966 b), and Balikci (1960-61). The latter two authors and David Stevenson (1968), assess structural differentiation in terms of economic changes in northern settlements. Manning Nash's book, "Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems", (1966), provided the model for general change as did the works of Hawthorne (1967), Fathi (1968), and Margaret Mead (1965 a). Analyzing data according to historical, sociocultural and economic sequences was based on Nelson Lowry's, "Community Structure and Change", (1965). Process changes are discussed by Martindale (1962), and Montagu (1968), as well as Hobart (1968), and Hughes (1965).

Hobart and Brant's article on "Eskimo Education, Danish and Canadian", (1964), and the Gooderham Symposium (1968), provided information on current educational practices and perspectives for change in northern Canada. John Berry's research paper (1966), provided reference to the mental changes that occur when people move from nomadic subsistence living to urban living in Frobisher Bay. The author's experience and log notes taken during the year spent in Frobisher Bay are verified by Yatsushiro (1963), Honigmans

(1966), and McElroy (1968). Personal interviews with Eskimos, adult educators, and educational administration staff were recorded. The author submitted a program evaluation and this assisted in revision in the home economics program. Other suggestions were later incorporated into adult homemaking programs.

E. Limitations Of The Study

This thesis includes historical, ethnographic, and sociocultural material, related to Eskimo people in an intercultural setting. From the information and its analysis, a planned educational program can be proposed. This program of modernization is designed to provide continuing learning and growth for Eskimo people. The educational objectives are very general. They need to be adapted to suit the purposes of elementary and secondary schools, vocational and occupational training, or other types of courses. This approach is necessary because more and more teachers are equipped to develop new curricula but are often unaware of the sociocultural and dynamic situations in a given community. More and more teachers are seeking relevancy in presenting material and others are striving to implement general community development programs which involve adults in multiple ways to benefit a specific community. This thesis does not deal with specialized subjects per se, as that is left to the individual teaching in an intercultural community.

From an educational point of view, the reader needs to keep in mind that this study provides only procedural guide-lines to promote sequential learning through processes such as orientation, rehabilitation, and accommodation. It involves participation and growth in affairs of the total community by as many people as possible. Change that is planned and directed involves community members in the planning and directing of such educational programs that aim at modernization and cultural enrichment.

F. Format Of The Study

A well organized community development program focused around the continuing education of adults could provide impetus to Eskimo people to change. Essentially people learn to adapt and are more receptive to modernization if there is purpose, continuity, and direction toward a stated goal. Generally, people enjoy participating and becoming involved in a meaningful situation. The sense of direction comes also because of what the past designates, what the present demands, and what the future requires. Chapter one has thus been concerned with establishing the parameters of this study.

Chapter two deals with the historical and economic stages of development among Eskimos of Baffin Island. Ethnographic phases of change from subsistence to urbanization are included in the third chapter. Chapter four discusses the dynamics of Eskimo adaptation as it occurred in Frobisher Bay, 1950-1970. The fifth chapter projects

educational objectives and suggests the various kinds of change which can occur at sequential and overlapping phases of development. The sixth chapter illustrates an adult education project that would expedite modernization and contribute to Eskimo integration in terms of a respect for their own traditions as well as the cultural values of Kabloona.

Chapter Two

Geographical And Historical Stages Of Contact

The Eskimo cultural group of Baffin Island is a unique example of nomadic people adapting to change. When Europeans first came to Baffin Island, adaptation began toward what is now a settlement and urban setting with a different economic base. The geographical influences perpetuated isolation until Europeans and Eurocanadians (white or Kabloona people from Southern Canada) came into coastal areas to trade and establish settlements. The historical stages of change established during InnuIt-Kabloona contact over two centuries relate to sociocultural phases of change that have occurred over two decades.

Man's adaptation to a unique land type in the harsh environment of the Canadian Arctic is based on geographical factors. These adaptations become more significant when viewed historically. The changes among the Canadian Eskimo also have implications for future settlement developments in northern regions.

When examining how Eskimos have changed, especially since the Kabloona contact, three features need to be considered:

- a. The historical InnuIt-Kabloona situation;
- b. The different kinds of "new" technology incorporated into the existing culture;
- c. The degree of economic, social and cultural integration that has accompanied contact.

A brief geographical sketch followed by a more detailed historical account will provide a basis for economic, social and cultural analysis.

A. Geographic Aspects Of Baffin Island Habitation

Baffin Island is located north of the sixtieth parallel. In an area this far north, the hours of daylight are negligible during the winter, yet prolonged during the summer. Seasonal variations regulate the activities of the inhabitants because of their dependence upon the animal resources of the land and sea. Eskimos depend little, if any, upon vegetation. The Arctic land area, not covered by the polar ice cap or perpetual snow, include well over three quarters of the island's land mass, and is virtually a desert tundra area with precipitation of less than ten inches per annum.

Despite the harsh and intensive weather and seasonal aspects, the Arctic has been successfully inhabited by Eskimos. The Eskimos sub-group themselves according to the types of natural economy present in their local regions. The Polar Eskimos of Baffin Island depend upon fish, cariboo, seal; as well as some walrus, fox, rabbit, and polar bear. They virtually derive their livelihood from the sea and the small accessible hinterland.

B. Prehistorical Eskimos

The Eskimos have inhabited the north for at least 5,000 years. First human occupation can be traced to the Pre-Dorsets who inhabited the Central Arctic coast prior to 2500 B.C. Archeologists have ascertained that during occupancy, which lasted until about 800 B.C., they lived according to a distinctive seasonal system. In the summer they were tent dwellers in widely scattered nomadic units. In the winter they lived in semi-subterranean huts in village-size complexes. Around 800 B.C., a distinctive Dorset culture evolved. They had a more complex tool arrangement including needles, harpoon heads, fish spears, lances, the kudlik or soapstone lamp, and an assortment of stone-chipping tools. This group of "Skraelings", the Nordic name for subterranean dwellers, extended from the Arctic mainland coast across Baffin Island, northern Quebec, and Newfoundland. They lived in large villages of non-nomadic type based around a highly productive hunting economy. Leisure hours allowed for carving of distinctive small-scale artifacts.

About 900 A.D., Thule culture replaced the Dorset culture. Thule people were mobile and more skillful in tool development. Their livelihood was based on the possession of a full range of gear for hunting baleen whales in umiaks, (large boats). They used kayaks, dog sleds, bows, spears, and lances; and they lived in the snow house. When Martin Frobisher explored Baffin Island, he was hit in the thigh

with an arrowhead made by the Thule, according to Taylor, (van Steensil, 1966; 4). During the eighteenth century, the whaling interests of Europeans along the Arctic coast declined. Along with this decline, came the population decrease of the Thule Eskimos. Today, some elements of their highly developed culture still survive among the Cariboo people of the Keewatin area. (Ibid.)

Prior to contact, the Eskimos lived an insulated existence isolated from other cultural groups. Their livelihood from the sea and land was sufficiently abundant to allow them food, clothing, and shelter within a small village system. They created unique tools and methods which were suitable for securing a living from the polar environment. Their social life was governed by a distinct set of habits, taboos, and mores regulated by animistic beliefs, and supported by shamans and angkok. By careful adherence to a strict code of ritual, the Eskimos were assured by the spirits, "Tugark", (Sea-Goddess), and "Sila", (Sky-Spirit), of survival through proper observance of the rules pertaining to hunting, fishing, and food obtained from designated areas at prescribed times of the year. The nomadic patterns played a relevant role in all religious rituals, from the pacification of the spirits to the regulation of work tasks for men and for women and their related kin-folk. These cultural codes were transmitted from birth to the young generation who would eventually care for their elders. The well-defined rules of conduct, sanctioned by religious rites, promoted social and cultural stability within the families,

the kin-group and among particular regional groups of Eskimos. The social and cultural system directly revolved around the gathering-hunting type economy and the specific environment of the particular InnuIt concerned.

C. Early Historical Contact -- InnuIt And Kabloona

Early explorers arrived in the western polar regions around 1000 A.D. They were followed by northern European whalers. Distinct contacts are difficult to trace with the exception of those which have been recorded.

Lief Eriksen encountered Skraelings or Thules about 1000 A.D. He was impressed by the high level of precise technology that they had developed for the purposes of living in the polar regions. Giddings (1967), recognizes that Thule culture represents those people who lived in the northernmost habitable area and had a distinctive whole cultural way of life.

This differs from others particularly in the daring way this people hunted whales and moved freely over ice floes and polar lands -- lands that long ago became the base across the whole American Arctic coast for the Eskimos as we know them today. (Giddings, 1967; 64)

What Eriksen saw and what Frobisher, Hall, and others recorded during their exploratory trips in the eastern polar regions, can generally be classified as a culture based on trapping and whaling. When the Fifth Thule Expedition published its findings after the 1921-1924 Arctic trip, many traditional Thule resources and tools were intact.

Kaj Birket-Smith, Knud Rasmussen, and Therkel-Mathiasen, recorded much of the early scientific material showing contact between Europeans and Eskimos. Peter Freuchen contributed to the romantic, non-scientific, cultural description of a group of people, little known and less understood by the rest of the world. (Ibid.; 66-67)

Among the Eskimo people, the major changes that had occurred resulted in a shift in the basic economy and in the mobility of people. Whalers from European countries attracted Eskimos into shore whaling stations. When whaling declined, the fur trade grew. The Eskimos were encouraged to trap foxes using steel traps. But the fox had no food value, only trading value, and this only over a sporadic period of time. Where whaling stations existed, blankets, pots and pans, canvas tents, firearms, and yard-goods supplemented and complemented the basic cultural artifacts. Inevitably the situation arose that Diamond Jenness described in this way:

A new generation of Eskimos arose that lacked the ancient skills and hunting lore of its people, a generation that had lost its authority and could hardly survive without contact with the civilized world.
(Vanstone, 1966; 12)

The Eskimos were semi-dependent upon trader goods, ammunition, fire-arms, and traps to the extent that they must again become nomadic to seek out sufficient game resources for the existing population.

Besides explorers, whalers and seasonal traders, missionaries and others became interested in the Eastern

Arctic Eskimo. The first Anglican church was established at Lake Harbour during World War I. Reverend Peck translated the Eskimo language into syllabics which brought a form of literacy to the Eskimo people. Later Father Thibert developed a dictionary and wrote religious texts in Eskimo.

Other centers grew up at Cape Dorset, Resolution Island, Pangnirtung, Pond Inlet, Igloolik, and Ward Inlet. Bethune states that the initial literacy in syllabics, the limited health facilities provided by the annual medical boat, the luxury of supplementing food and clothing items with store purchases or barter goods and the aspects of the Christian churches created fairly harmonious relations between the two contact groups. (Bethune, 1934; 45)

Early contact tended to be sporadic and was accompanied by many elements of frontierism. Until the 1940's, the Eskimo could still maintain many traditions. They could accept certain items of the "foreign" or "invading" culture into their Inuit existence or they could reject them. One factor became increasingly obvious. No longer could an Eskimo family survive by complete dependence upon trapping and whaling in combination with hunting and gathering. A crucial question arose as to how long the Eskimo could exercise any choice regarding preservation of their traditional economy or accepting modernization.

D. Rapid Intrusion Of Kabloona -- Post World War II

The inevitable conquest of land both for resources and for communications networks, set the stage for rapid change among Eskimo peoples, particularly those on Baffin Island.

External defense needs, financed by American defense grants, provided a Distant Early Warning system of stations throughout the Canadian Arctic. These were accompanied by docks, airfields, and an influx of Americans and Euro-canadians. Eskimos gathered around these focal centers for employment. Later, the communications system was fortified by locating the Strategic Air Command base at Frobisher Bay, near the existing DEW Line site. Baffin Island became a geographical link in a defense network involving some of the most modern and expensive communication-transportation equipment in the circumpolar regions. Of secondary importance was the declaration of the International Polar Year, 1957, in conjunction with the International Geophysical Year, which opened up the north to scientific studies.

The second major influx of people to Baffin Island came because of the opening up of exploration to evaluate the possible extent of mineral resources in and around Baffin Island and outlying smaller islands. The most important discovery, that of Merry River iron-ore reserves, confirmed expectations that the Canadian Arctic had exceedingly rich reservoirs of high grade ore available when modern methods would allow for removal from the ice-bound areas of Baffin Island.

Settlement development around new focal points such as Frobisher Bay, Resolute, Fox Main, and Cape Hope's Advance, altered the precarious existence of the Polar Eskimo. The availability of good hunting resources had previously been the basis for Eskimo settlement and occupation. The next phase centered around nomadic trading and cooperation with whaling, fishing, and trading stations on a seasonal basis. Now a third variation occurred. This shifted the economic basis of the Eskimos who migrated to non-hunting or trading areas and were seasonally employed in the wage economy. Most locations in this type of resettlement were not located near to game resources and thus a new cycle of existence developed.

Due to the seasonal wage employment and the drop in available food resources, the Canadian government agencies and departments had to become increasingly involved. The Department of Northern Affairs was involved in the administration and education of those persons residing in the north. The Department of National Health and Welfare provided hospitalization and care or relief for those persons who were not able to care for themselves, who were ill, and who were not economically self-sufficient. Many persons were confined for lengthy periods in tuberculosis sanatoriums in southern Canada. When they arrived back in the North, frequently they became burdens to their families. The Department of Public Works provided housing, and the Department of Transportation provided facilities for mobility both to Eskimos

and Eurocanadians. The R.C.M.P. brought new laws and tried to establish new cultural codes for northern Eskimos. The CBC and various other agencies, all of which were government-oriented, created an entirely new outlook to a settlement lying in a northern environment. These factors encouraged Kabloona to take jobs in northern settlements such as Frobisher Bay.

E. Baffin Island And The Growth Of Frobisher Bay

The relationships between InnuIt and Kabloona can best be represented in the modern "metropolis" of Frobisher Bay. Frobisher Bay has a unique and unplanned history.

Of the 1,500 Eskimo inhabitants on Baffin Island, some three-hundred people traded in the Frobisher Bay post at Ward Inlet. (Canada Census, 1927). The trading post was established at Ward Inlet in the 1920's but closed down for a period during the second World War because the post was too expensive to operate when there was no sizeable settlement. The Eskimos had not established hunting camps in the present day location of Frobisher Bay because of the lack of plentiful resources in the hinterland.

After World War II, more formalized and tenuous relationships between Kabloona and InnuIt were established in the proximity of Frobisher Bay. In 1943, the American Air Force base was established at Frobisher Bay, close in location to the Ward Inlet trading post. Of the 100 InnuIt then trading into this post, some established semi-permanent residence

at the airbase and became employed in

unskilled and semi-skilled jobs such as kitchen help and unloading of cargo vessels The bases interposed a thorny hedge between those natives who continued to seek their livelihood by hunting and trapping, and those who worked for wages and obtained all or most of their supplies from the military establishments. Regarding wage employment ... almost none of them had seen or handled money before 1940, or understood its functions in an organized society.
(Jenness, 1964; 73-74)

After 1951, building programs and the DEW Line and radar communications systems provided much-needed employment opportunities. But few Eskimos could fill these jobs and consequently, Canadians from southern Canada were imported. Teachers came first to Apex in 1955, and then also to the Airbase School established in 1959. The Department of Northern Affairs established Frobisher Bay as its administrative center for the Eastern Arctic District in 1964.

Frobisher Bay consists of three distinct communities within a four-mile radius of each other. The Airbase section was established in proximity to long stretches of flat land and this attracted a trading company, small businesses, and government agencies. Apex was a pre-planned government-sponsored project. The third community, Ikaluit, was an Eskimo squatter's town, which invariably bulged at the seams, demanding the attention of town planners to provide housing, facilities and services.

The model Eskimo town, Apex Hill, was begun in 1955. Located three miles east of the Airbase, it was established as a halfway house to accommodate persons who had been

hospitalized or needed to be near medical centers. A Rehabilitation Center provided training and work as a cooperative venture for those who had been temporarily incapacitated. Policy-designated welfare grants were used in a directive program rather than being used as outright relief funds. Theoretically, this offered valid developmental assistance to those who were deprived of their livelihood from nomadic hunting and fishing. Apex grew rapidly. The community had an Eskimo community council which brought a certain cohesion to the townsite. According to Yatsushiro (1962; 19) there were approximately 630 Eskimos in Frobisher Bay. About 225 of these lived in Apex Hill. One hundred more Eskimos arrived in the Apex area the following year, some coming from southern hospitals and others coming from various northern communities to join family members who were undergoing rehabilitative treatment. Still others came seeking medical care or rehabilitation training for new types of work in the wage economy.

Ikaluit was a squatter's community for Eskimos. It included the overflow population from Apex. By 1959, three-hundred Eskimos lived in various types of buildings and tents in this area located on the tidal flats one-half mile south of the Airbase and some three miles northwest of Apex Hill. By 1963, this number had increased to five-hundred persons. The group was entirely Eskimo, with and without occupational competence. By 1964, the people resided in a relatively unplanned "shack-town" with diversified types of housing,

ranging from tents to packing crates to shacks that existed on the fringes of hastily erected government transitional housing. Most of these people came to Frobisher Bay because they desired to be near families and relatives who were associated with the Apex Hill development. Others came because their children, mainly teen-agers, had been taken to vocational training schools. Many parents came thinking that the school was located in Frobisher Bay, whereas it was in Churchill, Manitoba.

During the early days of the building and construction of the Airbase, the number of white frontiersmen considerably outnumbered the Eskimo population. By 1963, however, large numbers of Eurocanadian families came to the Airbase section and occupied the Butler building accommodation that had been abandoned by the Strategic Air Command and the DEW Line installations personnel. Major groupings of Eurocanadians consisted of those associated with military and defence operations, trading companies, government agencies, and private firms who did contractual work for the government. There were also a limited number of people connected with transportation, scientific research, and communication services. In 1964, the Strategic Air Command buildings were turned over to the Canadian government to be used as administrative offices, service and storage facilities, and accommodation buildings for the administration of the Eastern Arctic. The airport served as a refueling stop for polar route airlines, but by 1964, the commercial flights were using large non-stop

jets on the global routes so that the refueling stops were no longer necessary.

Generally speaking, the Kabloona lived in fairly comfortable Butler triplexes that were fully-furnished, fully-serviced, and heavily subsidized rentwise. These people remained a community set distinctly apart from the two native townsites. They tended to live in fairly harmonious luxury in an adventuresome setting for a transitional period, after which they returned to the comforts of southern Canada.

F. Summary Of Historical Stages Of InnuIt Economic Development

After initial European contact, the Polar Eskimo has evolved through three distinctive stages.

Stage I:

As Thule culture people, the InnuIt lived in fairly sizeable coastal communities based on hunting and gathering. Socially and culturally, they were both isolated from the world and insulated from contact with many other groups of Eskimos.

Stage II:

When Europeans established contact at coastal whaling, fishing, and trading stations, Eskimos became more nomadic. They wandered into these stations to trade and cooperate on whaling expeditions for a proportionate share of the whales. Later, the economic basis shifted more towards trapping and whaling but still allowed for hunting and gathering activities.

Stage III:

The third stage concerned Eskimos in another way. The two previous stages had involved minimal contact, usually at the discretion of the Innuits themselves. The third stage entailed direct contact with the Kabloona within settlements established on a non-Innuits base.

Eskimos became wage employees, often on a seasonal basis in service occupations. Others were frequently exempted for health reasons, and others had to live on relief as game resources were rapidly depleting in many areas.

Historically, the stages of Innuits-Kabloona contact have been positively integrative for Eskimos. Vallee summarizes:

A few hundred depend exclusively on wage employment; a few hundred are virtually dependent on wild-life harvesting; but the majority derive income and sustenance from a variety of sources such as hunting, fishing, trapping, casual wage employment, carving and the manufacturing of handicrafts. Few Eskimo are identified with one specific occupational category.

(Valentine and Vallee 1968; Intro ix)

Chapter Three

Ethnographic Phases Of Change In Frobisher Bay

The historical stages involving InnuIt-Kabloona contact and economic adaptation on Baffin Island, coincide generally with the sociocultural and economic phases of integration within the town of Frobisher Bay. This chapter will specify four phases of integration which are equivalent to the stages of historical contact on Baffin Island.

This generalization can be noted in the following way. Those people who gave up a settlement way of life based on hunting and gathering from the sea and land, and who turned to trapping and the fur trade, are roughly equivalent to those people who first settled in Ikaluit.

Phase One

This group in Frobisher Bay was basically a well-knit family-kin group who survived because of the interdependence of all members of a household within its interlocking kinship groups. Disruption occurred when children were removed from their home for purposes of schooling. Their parents no longer had to provide food or shelter, and thereby, lost some incentive for subsistence pursuits. Many families moved into the Kabloona centers to be near the educational facilities and their children. Here they could resume some hunting tasks but not without losing some tradition.

Phase II

The Apex Hill community developed as a model cooperative town. When people were physically rehabilitated and able to participate, they became involved with other means of economic survival. The early-contact cooperation between Scandinavians and Eskimos in whaling situations, typical of seventeenth and eighteenth century contact, was revived. Trading and production based upon the fox-fur market of European countries was replaced by the fragile market for Eskimo-produced graphic arts, sculpture, and other handicrafts in southern Canada. Within the confines of Apex community, the Inuit people were still contributing to the economy of their basic family unit. However, they were now using different means, which often, excluded the extended family group. Some people were trained as bakers, cooks, and craft-shop people. Some Eskimos eventually would operate these shops or take clerical and secretarial training in the south. Others, who were more fluent in English, frequently became interpreters.

Phase III

Airbase area Eskimos had intensive contact with Euro-canadians. Post World War II contact involved service occupations and tenuous or sporadic wage employment. It created a dependency on trading goods, hunting, and fishing. Many Eskimos, who were initially housed in the Airbase as acculturated families were examples, in varying degrees, of

Eskimos who incorporated the new technology and new modes of living into a new working order. This meant other changes and adaptations as well.

Phase IV

If one surveys Frobisher Bay in 1970, a fourth phase is becoming pronounced. This phase is characterized by certain Eskimos who have evidently adapted more quickly than others. These have emerged as leaders, as well as precursors of further change. Their economic base has shifted from service occupations to small business operations and, in one case, the business is self-owned and managed. These leaders have also become politically involved at the municipal, regional, and territorial levels.

A. Phase One -- Ikaluit Village -- 1963-1964

When Eskimo people from Lake Harbour, Cape Dorset, Coral Harbour, Pangnirtung, and other Baffin area trading areas moved into Frobisher Bay, they brought with them many unique Inuit cultural identifications. However, during intercultural contact in an urban settlement such as Frobisher Bay, the Eskimo group was required to make the greatest sociocultural change of any group newly arrived in Frobisher Bay.

Jenness further suggests that one of the recurrent problems of this relatively cohesive Inuit group, was that of adjustment.

Most (northern) communities can sustain without shock the aberrant activities of a few of their members, but stresses and strains quickly develop when large segments of their labor forces abandon the established roads and branch off along new paths.
(Jenness, 1964; 74)

Social aspects of settlement living during initial contact were fluid and flexible within the Eskimo community. Those Eskimos who migrated to Frobisher, came from relatively stable Inuit standardized backgrounds.

Practically everyone could get a job in Frobisher Bay or could gain his livelihood through a combination of home industries, welfare and family allowances. Generally speaking everyone marched in step That constituted the initial phase of social mobility and as it is now. (Honigman, 1965; 101)

In addition, the Honigmans attribute the Eskimo egalitarian outlook to the fact that they differentiate according to an individual's qualities rather than view any individual as maintaining a particular position economically in a set social category. (Ibid.)

The conditions that existed in Ikaluit in 1965, were rather extreme, but still the question arises as to whether these conditions justify the prevailing government's paternalistic attitude. Could these conditions not create incentives to improve the situation from both the points of view of the Eskimo and the Eurocanadian?

Ikaluit (fish village) lies in a low drainage area on the tidal flats at the base of and upon the slope of a huge rock, called Neahani (headache) Hill. Because Neahani accumulates large amounts of drifting snow, sanitation is

poor, especially during the winter and during spring break-up. Transportation is inadequate, and often sections of the town do not have water delivery or garbage pick-up during blizzard periods. There is no surface drainage except in sloped areas. The perma-frost prevents seepage and evaporation is not too great.

Only a few heads of households in the village of Ikaluit were engaged in full-time wage employment. Of these, most were in jobs concerned with services and maintenance which required little if any skill or facility with the English language. Others were engaged in Eskimo-organized activities such as the short-term fishing cooperative and the carving cooperative. Certain funds were available to Eskimos and these included old age pensions and family allowances. Because of the high mortality rate, few families benefited from pensions. Consumer goods were very costly and the family allowances did not provide adequate coverage for the large numbers of children that were born and survived due to increased medical care given in the urban area. Most families did strive to send at least one family member out to work, but this tended to be on a revolving basis and to semi-occasional jobs depending upon what skills and interests were suited to the available jobs for the particular family member concerned.

A system of distribution of money existed in Ikaluit and overlapped into Apex and Airbase. First, the practice of adopting children or exchanging children, a traditional

custom among the Eskimo people, insured that most married couples had children and some income from family allowances. The practice also provided homes for orphans or for children born to persons out-of-wedlock. The latter practices came into disfavor because of the inadequacy of family allowances and the overabundance of surviving children. The problem was then focused upon the welfare department which provided funds to family units. But the amount of money paid for a child support was different from the amount allotted per child in a family living on relief. Therefore, many children were loaned to others. This type of governmental distribution of funds created situations which Eskimos used to benefit themselves and their own children as well as children who came to them for foster support.

A second practice of unique economic consequences involved two segments of the Ikaluit and Apex population. The young men and the heads-of-households employed games and vice to keep money flowing through the homes. When about one tenth of the Ikaluit male population of working age were employed on an annual basis, others developed peculiar skills for economic survival. Money distribution was the major incentive, while the sheer enjoyment of games provided the milieu. While certain members of a family or kin-group engaged in gainful employment or worked independently within the cooperatives, others spent their time developing skills in games of chance, such as blackjack, poker, snooker and pool.

As certain segments of the group took the opportunity to develop positive employable skills in on-the-job training, others developed competent gaming skills, thus assuring an equal distribution of monies among all members of the male population who enjoyed or indulged in such activities.

A third group of males engaged in hunting, fishing, and occasional trapping. They provided barter goods that could also be exchanged for ready cash either at the gaming sessions or on a share of collateral basis. This latter group, because it meant extended absences from Frobisher Bay in ever increasing distances to secure game, did not fully participate in community life, nor did they and their families necessarily qualify for benefits offered from partial retention of subsistence resources. Two large problems occurred. First, they had to equip themselves with boats, motors, and guns, if they were to trap and hunt. These were good items to use for gambling debts. If they lost these, they were unable to go travelling in search of game. On the other hand, many persons did not have experience with the games of chance and they were not involved on a day-to-day basis in gambling, so they were unable to acquire large sums of money. They were also, at this point, unable to apply for welfare because of pride in the fact that they should declare that the entire party of persons involved had secured twelve seals. No proud Eskimo ever declared that he actually shot four seals, but he referred to the group's total booty which would eventually be sub-divided among themselves. No proud Eskimo would disclose how much he had won or lost

during the gambling sessions either. This kind of circular reciprocity was difficult to resolve. The only method used created dependent Eskimos who sought relief, or it generated independent persons who, through their own desire to be involved, participated in those aspects which gave them opportunities to become socially involved in the communities. This kind of system generated mixed feelings of right and wrong among both populations of InnuIt and Kabloona, thereby, prolonging the difficult adjustment to accepting new roles as urban townsmen.

The Eurocanadian standards of evaluation relating to comfort, convenience, and material possession still prevailed. The participant observer used these criteria to look at changes among Eskimos. The chief characteristics of this phase would include the following ethnographic items. In phase one, the Eskimos tended to have very poor housing in poorly located, unplanned, squatter-type locations outside of, or on the fringes of serviced areas. The majority of able-bodied men provided some subsistence food to their immediate families through hunting and fishing. They were often semi-dependent upon welfare for securing store items. They participated in fringe aspects of both the more modernistic communities and yet they maintained a certain degree of Eskimo identity by dressing in Eskimo traditional clothing, eating sea mammals, fish, and other seafood that is locally available, maintaining their own language and rearing children within extended family units. The presence of shamans and angkoks

and Eskimo-trained midwives assured that certain Eskimo values prevailed in preference to Eurocanadian ways. The extended family is functional to the degree that it makes decisions and shares monies and foods within the cooperative unit. Visiting and associational patterns indicate that close interpersonal ties exist. Some home industry creates a bridge economically with the larger community cooperatives. The home industry appears to be more avocational than occupational or vocational. In terms of comparison, the attitudes, values and goals that exist among Ikaluit people tend to be roughly equivalent to those of the southern urban slum dwellers. Ghetto-ization occurred as people lived on the margin of poverty and were subjected to rigorous climatic conditions and government paternalism.

A condescending Eurocanadian attitude prevailed to set people in Ikaluit apart. When the two groups came together there was a superficial initial curiosity followed by ambivalence in relationships between the groups. This attitude which "allows" for exploitation, negligence and indifference, could continue until Eskimos became more attuned with the intercultural community and demanded recognition for more responsible tasks. Frequently, the Ikaluit Eskimos are proud and dignified, with their own identity, and do not want to give up too easily what has been a very functional life style for them through generations in the Arctic. The personal autonomy and independence of the Innuits allowed them to continue their ethnic ways while the dominant

authoritative administrative structure, as well as the non-fraternization policies, perpetuated withdrawal and solidarity among the Eskimos. The Federal Day School at the Airbase was staffed and operated by public servants who used educational materials relevant to southern Canada. They reinforced the cleavage among the younger generation and their parents. Only in rare instances did the teachers visit the homes in Ikaluit. In work situations, there were very few intercultural relationships that went beyond the nine-to-five work day.

The Ikaluit people remain a group apart, and they are representative of basic positive features and traditions of Eskimos from nomadic hunting camps, who need time to adjust to life in a larger urban center such as Frobisher Bay.

B. Phase Two -- Apex Hill - 1955-1965

The group of people assembled together to comprise the model cooperative community of Apex Hill arrived from widely dispersed communities and camps throughout the Baffin and Northern Quebec regions. Their InnuIt way of life had been interrupted by prolonged hospital leave in southern Canada and many were physically unable to return to any type of economy based on hunting, gathering or trading. This created a dilemma which was partially resolved by historical contact between European whalers and Eskimos who located in settlements along accessible coastal areas to enable participation in cooperative whaling expeditions and which allowed for reciprocal relationships.

Jenness makes the following statement about these reciprocal relationships:

natives had interpreted this (whaler-Eskimo) arrangement as co-operative rather than wage employment; and they had been more content, because it did not drain away their manpower into new and unfamiliar fields. Day-labor at the air bases confronted them with an occupation that was totally alien to their culture; an occupation that gravely interfered with their traditional way of life. (Jenness, 1964; 74)

Another unique factor was the arbitrary nature of the methods of designating people as residents of Apex Hill. Many Eskimos who voluntarily came to Frobisher Bay located themselves in either Ikaluit or Airbase. They came with positive attitudes and were motivated to adjust to urban living. Other people were removed from settlements because of illness, and were relocated in Apex Hill, usually after returning from hospitalization. They were dealt a socio-cultural shock equivalent to transplanting an organ from one foreign body to another. Many of these people came to Frobisher Bay unwillingly, and were automatically wards of the government welfare department. This was because the factors that created removal and/or hospitalization were physical illness and disability, such as tuberculosis with its accompanying sociopsychological problems. These relocants were predisposed to have difficulties as Eskimos. Now, in addition, they were forced to discontinue traditional modes of survival and sever certain familial ties. They had the added complication of having spent long periods of time in southern institutions, all of which necessitated complete

change of their pattern of living. Apex residents had to adjust to urban situations in transitory occupations and be separated from extended families in housing and job occupational tasks.

Unusual situations occurred in relocating people in a townsite situation after they had been widely dispersed throughout various areas. The people became equivalent to displaced persons on their own land. Some were rehabilitated and totally prepared to return to small settlement subsistence livelihood, while others, partially recovered, were located as nuclear families in Frobisher Bay. The latter group were maintained and retrained or rehabilitated over a two-year period through government-directed and sponsored programs administered by the Rehabilitation Center and the Sisi Housing Cooperative.

When families first came into Apex to participate in the Rehabilitation Program, those who were moved from settlements to join fathers and mothers returning from southern hospitals were dislocated from larger units in various settlements. Without the support of the extended family units, interfamilial adjustments were as essential as the corresponding physical and mental adjustments needed to live with handicaps and to survive in an urban setting. In addition, many of the former patients had adverse psychological experiences that had lowered their self-esteem and willingness to assume family responsibility once the subsistence provision of hunting and fishing had been curtailed. To further complicate matters, associated relatives migrated to

Frobisher Bay in order to be near their kinfolk. Some of these migrants moved into nuclear family housing units, causing severe overcrowding. The house, usually designed to accommodate a maximum of five or six family members, often contained as many as twelve people. Those relatives who did not settle in Apex, squatted in whatever available housing existed or could be improvised from salvage materials in the townsite of Ikaluit. The government outrightly opposed unauthorized migration from the northern settlements of Baffin Island. Persons from the hinterland, however, still had dog teams and boats to assist in removal to Frobisher Bay. Frequently, the teams and boats were sold when they arrived to meet other costs. No means of returning to the outlying settlements was thus available except through government-assisted removal.

Although the overcrowding of houses in slum-like Ikaluit developed as a natural outcome, a unique aberration occurred when providing people with housing. The government supplied low-cost housing for rehabilitants and relocants (reputed evidence states that each unit cost \$960 in 1965). These were provided from the surpluses of an agricultural firm which had supplied "A-frame" stables for animal husbandry throughout southern Canada. They were classified as "transitional housing" which would accommodate people recently vacating tents, yet not ready for the spaciousness of three-bedroom types of homes. The rigid frames, the name given to these dwellings, bore little resemblance to the two story Anglican church rectory, the elaborate bachelor's quarters of the

Hudson Bay manager and storesman in Apex, or to the Butler triplexes which accommodated government personnel in Airbase.

Although the rigid frames were designed for sale to the Eskimos under terms of the Eskimo Housing Loan Agreement, many persons did not wish to purchase these houses. They either rented them or lived as welfare recipients. The Eskimos did not wish to do necessary maintainance or to incorporate local improvement. Furthermore, the Eskimos lacked adequate samples of how other Eskimos had adapted or how they could incorporate utilitarian interior arrangements with tastefully chosen furnishings. Cast-off, second-hand, furnishings and furniture no longer suitable for federal government staff families were accepted in whatever condition they were in. Again, attempts were seldom made to refurnish upholstery, repair broken items or paint marred surfaces. Some crude storage facilities were also made from cardboard cartons and wooden packing crates. For the people who occupied the A-frames, there was seldom an outward show of pride in ownership nor adjustment to the house. The unsettled nature of the people brought into the Apex Hill area may have predisposed them to stay there unwillingly. When the population of Apex stabilized, there was more of an opportunity to alter both the economic, social and material aspects of the residents.

In summary, the Apex Hill situation forced people to change often, as dependents of the government. The rehabilitating program organized around welfare cooperatives and outright relief hand-outs did not introduce people into wage

employment. In fact, it inferred an opposite philosophy to the basic Canadian belief with its self-supporting ideal. The cooperatives, which are relatively successful developments for Eskimos from an employment point of view, are nevertheless, a form of "low-class" method for exploiting a cheap labor force. The menial nature of the occupational and service skills acquired by cooperative workers tended to negate these programs as long-time answers. Such programs need to be accompanied by those social, cultural, and in the case of Apex residents, those psychological skills which require time and interest to cultivate.

C. Phase Three -- The InnuIt Area Of Airbase - 1960-1968

The government's program to incorporate Eskimos into a Kabloona-InnuIt community was very contentious.

In 1966, about seven-hundred people lived in the Airbase section adjoining the airstrip of Frobisher Bay. Of this group, less than one-hundred persons were indigenous northerners. The native people were a distinctive group, carefully selected because they were "integrated" or "acclimatized" to settlement living and wage employment.

Three of the eight Eskimo households were composed of persons who had backgrounds of at least two generations of wage employment. Two of these families came from Fort Chimo, Quebec; and the third family moved from Coral Harbour where the provider had worked as a DEW line heavy-duty equipment operator. Other Eskimo families migrated from Resolution

Island, Cape Dorset and Pond Inlet. They had previous extensive contact in barter-trading relationships. All Eskimos had fairly substantial amounts of second-hand furniture, appliances, and products provided by their new means of affluence.

Besides the eight Eskimo families, one Neskapi-Cree head-of-household married to a Labrador Eskimo, had located himself in Airbase. The tenth household, headed by a white person, provided a transitional model which many Eskimos would eventually follow. The wife and her mother, both trained in the Rehabilitation Center, set up a custom parka-making enterprise that gradually provided positions for five seamstresses. As a local industry, the parka-making was tolerated, because people needed good northern-type outerwear. Subtle opposition was maintained because several Kabloona women in Airbase demanded that the adult educator give lessons in parka-making using government stores surplus duffel. They also wanted the parka-maker to give them lessons in how to make and design northern parkas. The person who had the home industry was fluent in English, which contributed to her business as well as the fact that she could also present material to non-InnuIt people.

Most families in this group occupied a tenuous position according to both Kabloona and InnuIt points of view. The marginality involved participatory regulations superimposed by Kabloona and used by Airbase InnuIt or mixed families to gain token recognition. There was little regard for cultural inclusion in post-work situations such as sports, entertainment, religious heterogeneous groups or neighborly socialization.

At Airbase, most Eskimo families and the Indian family were relatively efficient in their pursuit of bi-culturalism. Despite wage employments, all but one family obtained meat and fish during weekend excursions to the hinterland. Many had exceptionally well-equipped outboard motors, good boats, auto-toboggans and occasionally, used air travel when necessary. The Airbase Eskimos readily adjusted to steady wage employment patterns. Holiday leaves were timed to be taken during sealing or the Arctic char fishing season. The father usually took his sons hunting with him or sent them with other relatives. After school hours, the boys of these families usually obtained sufficient ptarmigan, rabbit, fish, and game, within easy reach of the townsite. This group in Airbase might be called the "last of the truly marginal Eskimo".

Honigman explains a dualism that is recurrent among the Airbase persons:

Each setting engenders different somewhat incompatible values. In town, Eskimos learn to control or reshape nature, to make it less threatening and more rewarding. On the land they adhere to a former wisdom, they live in nature and remove themselves from difficult situations rather than trying directly to manage them. Not surprisingly, attitudes from one setting sometimes spill over into another. Eskimos take machines on the land and in town try to cope with intolerable situations, especially social ones, by withdrawing.

(Honigman, op. cit.; 78)

For the Airbase group, the ready cash income proved advantageous when used constructively. Better guns, nets, and fishing equipment promoted success in hunting and fishing. Full-time wage employment over a period of time allowed

for fairly fluid participation in the town's satisfactions and also gained esteem and prestige among Eurocanadians. On the other hand, seasonal job participants created inconsistency, usually taking two or three months to hunt. They are frowned upon by Eurocanadians and treated as poor job risks. (Ibid; 79)

With the exception of one welfare family in this group, each family has at least one full-time wage earner. Some work in the laundry, while others perform mechanical repairs, or drive service vehicles. One has a position as clerk in the Rehabilitation Center, another is the local barber, a third operates a local pool hall. Three women from these families are full-time employees. Their jobs include interpreting for welfare officers, working as laundresses or operating small parka-making businesses for Eurocanadians.

Airbase is a unique transition phase for native peoples. Housing is adequate and not differentiated from regularly assigned housing provided for Kabloona government employees. A greater variety of tasks are performed in the houses. There is indication of the distinctive Eskimo preference for local meat from the hinterland rather than government rations or store purchased foods. The wage employment benefits provide amenities as well as freedom to adapt. But adjusting to urban living and gaining acceptance by Kabloona create paradoxes. Change, as exemplified by the Airbase residents creates a stereo-type which can be literally termed, "The last era of the true Eskimo hunter in the North"; or a more ambivalent term such as, "Uncle Tom".

D. Phase Four -- Emergent Townspeople In Frobisher Bay
-- 1955-1970

The fourth phase of emergent Eskimo townsfolk was not characterized by a specific location such as Ikaluit, Apex, or Airbase, but by pre-eminent persons who provide some type of leadership role throughout the cross-section of Frobisher Bay. The people involved usually see the need for a concept of community, per se; one in which people are integrated and function in an intercultural community which included Eurocanadians, Eskimos, Negroes, Indians, and others. Those Eskimos who emerged as the greatest change agents and "cultural converters", communicated more with whites than with Eskimos. Norman Chance cites Alaskan traits that are analogous to those in Frobisher Bay in 1960.

Positive inter-ethnic relations were also furthered by the congruence of traditional Eskimo leadership traits and those required to articulate with the whites. The Eskimo leaders' mental alertness, industriousness, generosity, cooperativeness, and ability to learn new technical skills were also valued highly by whites, thereby enabling the local leaders to maintain their effectiveness and position of importance. (Chance, 1966; 200)

A second incentive may have been that Eurocanadians assumed responsibility in sponsoring a young Eskimo who showed promise in areas of leadership, influence, and who had economic capabilities to achieve prominence as a businessman. Such a person is Simonee Michael, the manager of a janitorial cooperative providing services to federal buildings and other contractual work. Mr. Michael served as organizer and chairman of the first cooperative -- the

"Sisi Housing Association". He has been active with bus operations, other cooperative outlets, and was elected to the Council of the Northwest Territories, being the first elected Eskimo representative.

Miss McElroy describes this person's role and notes that few, if any, Eskimos hold their position in terms of any status superior to that of other Eskimos. Here is her description:

One such Eastern Arctic family is headed by the recently elected representative of the Northwest Territories Council who also manages the janitorial cooperative, Innuuk Limited. This Eskimo who at thirty-four years of age has a family of seven children ranging in age from 13 to 2-1/2, built his own home through the housing cooperative, designed and finished the interior of the home, and constructed a fence around the front yard to provide a play area safe from dogs for his younger children. The children speak English well and are always neatly dressed in non-traditional clothing; they do well at school, have excellent attendance at school; and are among the few Eskimo children who are considered by Eurocanadian mothers to be desirable playmates for their children. This Eskimo speaks English reasonably well and frequently is seen wearing a suit and tie to community events. His wife dresses more traditionally, still employing the amoutik, and she does not speak English very freely.

(McElroy, 1968; 12)

People involved in the fourth phase are recently emergent personalities in leadership roles. Some are sons and daughters of the more influential families of Ikaluit, Apex, and Airbase. Each of their home households is characterized by a high degree of functional accommodation of Kabloona-Innuit patterns. This may be called a synthesis of the two cultural groups. Each unit merges as a modernization of the

Eskimo townfolk, able to participate and make viable decisions for themselves and their community,

There are two sub-categories of personalities that develop in this particular phase. The first type of personality is involved in community concerns. These people have gained experience in community organizations. They value these commitments and remain involved within the community. Their positive attitudes of self-respect are identified with the fact that they are themselves well-adjusted and assimilated persons in terms of acculturation within the community. Outside of Frobisher Bay, they may tend to feel inadequate and unable to cope with unfamiliar situations. Generally, this group wished to provide assistance to other Eskimos to become acculturated. Simonie Aligna represents an Eskimo in this category.

The second type of Eskimo personality has those requisites cited above; but in addition, he has an out-look which extends beyond the community to regional and national areas. This type of person is an assertive leader who commands attention on a regional basis yet still maintains good liason relationships with community leaders and organizations. Simonee Michael is an example of such an Eskimo. He was the first elected member of the Council of the Northwest Territories, and he is actively involved in community activities.

Not all people in this phase participate in the wage employment on a regular basis. Some are involved as hunters, and others participate in cooperative work projects on an occasional basis. There are a diversified center of leadership

but the element of self-esteem the pride of living and participation in community life of Frobisher Bay are indicative of the willingness to accept responsibility in the decision-making processes of the intercultural situation.

E. Summary Of Phase Changes In Frobisher Bay Innuit-Life Styles

Social orders change when the environment imposes new situations and settlement patterns upon a group of people. Difficulties arise in relocating nomadic type persons in Frobisher Bay if they have subscribed to certain patterns of living in small family camps or small kinship related settlements such as those described in historical stage one. However, many Eskimo extended family groups live in one household or next door to their relatives. They are basically traditional proto-type Eskimos. The Eskimos encountered in Phase two and three were able to identify settlement living with urbanization as indicated by the tremendous adaptive mechanisms that operated during migration in historical stages two and three. The relatively quick acceptance or rejection of urbanization may have been due to their ability to synthesize relevant features from two cultural ways of life and to develop an integrated culture. (Carpenter, 1964, and J. Berry, 1966.)

A new cultural type, one not characteristically Euro-canadian and one not retaining entirely explicit Eskimo features, emerges into the new urban setting. The changes do not occur as a unified whole but overlap and modify as alterations are made in individual and social situations.

When a fourth phase does emerge mature, there will likely be a distinctive and significant synthesis of the two cultures. The newly proposed townsite of Frobisher Bay which is being constructed during the 1970's, will likely incorporate this concept of a new Eskimo townsmen within the planning and policy-making framework of the population of people in Frobisher Bay.

In reviewing the ethnographic material, the following characteristics are noted according to each progressive phase, (Table 1a, 1b, and 1c).

STAGE	PHASE	DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS
<u>Historical</u>	<u>Urban-Equivalent</u>	
I. NON-CONTACT	Ikaluit	a. tendency toward subsistence base if available
Hunting,	(orientation)	b. desire to maintain basic kinship units
Gathering		c. inclusion of extended family
		d. simple material needs
		e. settlement oriented, not too nomadic
		f. utilization of resources at hand
II. EARLY CONTACT	Apex Hill	a. nomadism over a greater area plus enforced removal for medical treatments
Trapping, hunting	(rehabilitation)	b. barter-trading and cooperative exchanges provided reciprocity between groups
Gathering,		c. Innuit customary social and cultural traditions maintained or interrupted temporarily, and then modified
Whaling		d. gradual introduction into a fluctuating "foreign" economy
		e. some equilibrium established between population base and subsistence resources

Table 1a. CHART OF STAGE-PHASE CHANGES

STAGE

Historical

III. RAPID INTRUSION

Wage Employment (accommodation)

Social Development

Hunting and

Fishing

Urban-Equivalent

Airbase

a. Eskimo continuation of some subsistence livelihood with intermittent laissez-faire trading plus occasional wage or relief supplement.

b. decline in world fur market

c. hinterland permanent posts plus annual supply boats and services or modern technical areas which provided new settlement bases.

d. population increase, mortality rate decline and provision of better government and welfare assistance

e. lack in some technical-communication based settlements of rich interland game resources necessitating alternation of livelihood patterns to menial service jobs or relief or deployment to other communities

f. modification and often negation of Eskimo customs, laws, religion and culture with prevalent government colonialism and paternalism creating a conflict or dependency dilemma

Table 1b. CHART OF STAGE-PHASE CHANGES

PHASE

Urban-Equivalent

New Townsite
(identification)

- a. Assumption that a new economy must supplement and eventually replace hunting, gathering, trading and shaling.
- b. defining cultural pluralism and roles of citizens
- c. developing a feeling of community
- d. determination to promote the Innuit model of culture as a viable entity within the modern town of Frobisher Bay.

STAGE

Historical

IV. EMERGENT ESKIMO
TOWNSPEOPLE IN
FROBISHER BAY
1955 - 1970

- Entrepreneurship
- Wage Employment
- Social Development

Table 1c. CHART OF STAGE-PHASE CHANGES

Chapter Four

Dynamics Of Eskimo Cultural Change In Frobisher Bay

Changes that have occurred among the Eskimo population of Frobisher Bay are of significant concern to be studied in greater depth in this chapter. What elements have changed and how fast they have changed will provide guidelines for directing further change in community development.

Only twenty years of prolonged community contact between Kabloona and Inuit has created a newly emergent cultural type, a modernized urban townsman able to participate in a new economy and assume leadership among Eskimos. The separation of Frobisher Bay's population into three communities has segregated groups into relatively homogeneous sociocultural units. These groups have generally changed together using the reference group that acculturated more readily as a model for establishing their own changes. Until recently, change has been unplanned. However, in the opinion of the participant observer, greater planning toward integrative participation could facilitate a more unified and effective program of development in an intercultural community.

Within this chapter, evaluative judgments will be made by the participant observer. Wherever possible these will be supported by pertinent references to the work of other field researchers. Participant observers in communities, such as Frobisher Bay, can play a significant role in change, but they must be aware of their personal biases in such situations.

Richard Slobodin showed the problem of intercultural contact and its assessment by indicating the possible bias of a southern Eurocanadian report on northern frontier relationships.

. . . I believe I may say that I was not unusually burdened with prejudice. I was prepared to like and respect Indians and Eskimos. When it came to "half-breeds!" however, I was under the sway of stereotypes about irresponsible misfits, inheriting the worst attributes of their ancestral races. This stereotype was shattered during that first winter in the North, as I came to know men and women of Indian-European and Eskimo-European background who were more competent and honorable persons, judged by and large, than those of other people. (Slobodin, 1966; Preface ix. x.)

Slobodin further elaborated on a theme which was particularly relevant to the situation of community growth as experienced in Frobisher Bay.

In many human societies, although not all, individuals and groups possessing what has been socially defined as "mixed" racial and cultural heritage must cope with rather severe prejudice. In no society does this appear to be more true than in that of English-speaking North America. Most members of the dominant majority who hold in scant regard the partially-urbanized Indians and Eskimos of the current scene nevertheless have an idealized image of the "old-time", the "real" and the "unspoiled" Indian and Eskimo. (Ibid.)

A. Sociocultural Considerations Based On Ethnographic Factors

Questions often arise when change occurs. The Eskimos had moved from a subsistence base of relative independence to a state of semi-dependence or dependence upon the government. Within the constrictions of an urban setting, how do the Eskimos and Eurocanadians resolve the problems

of home and community living? The following specific questions derived from chapter three, relate to this theme of sociocultural change.

- a. When economic pursuits change from subsistence hunting and trapping to wage employment, what problems are created?
- b. How does one adjust emotionally and socially to a new mode of living in urban settings?
- c. What cultural aspects survive transition and which are rejected or modified?
- d. What is the role of the family in the urban setting?
- e. What type of a community evolves and to what extent do Eskimos participate in community functions?
- f. What are the values that tend to be developed during this type of rapid sociocultural change?
- g. How fast does change occur and under what conditions is the pace of change slowed down or speeded up?

Each of the above questions relate, specifically to the phase characteristics within the urban contact situation at Frobisher Bay and will be summarized at the end of this chapter.

B. Theoretical Assumptions Of Cultural Dynamics

Values in a constant state of flux are difficult to define. If the question were based on habits, attitudes and projected values it would be more relevant to this topic. The rate of change is another non-measureable term because Frobisher Bay today is still in a state of transformation with an ever increasing range of people deciding where they are and where they are going. Hesitancy of

Eskimos to accommodate all aspects of modernization in Frobisher Bay indicates that alternatives are under consideration to acculturation in Kabloona terms.

In terms of historical stages and the ethnographic equivalent phases, that have been established, there tend to be equal changes in the life styles of Eskimo people both on Baffin Island and in Frobisher Bay. Economic, social, cultural, political, and religious changes occur, not in isolation, but on a continuum. In urban situations, explicit descriptive material is often diffused. This is not the case in Frobisher Bay. When viewed in a period of twenty years, specific assumptions regarding change are made relevant to this intercultural contact situation. These assumptions can act as a yardstick to measure effectiveness, ineffectiveness or unusual trends in the on-going process of creating a sense of community in a northern area.

Sociocultural development occurs in successive but irregular stages. The historical description furnishes a basis for an analysis of change on three planes -- the social, the cultural, and the political. Various disfunctions can also be measured according to the ethnographic frame of reference outlined in Figure III. The phase aspects are particularly useful when developing specific policy and procedures for relocation, retraining, rehabilitation, general education, town planning, social development, and community planning. The chart also indicates how form, function and process regularities occur during various phases of development.

Change is uneven in various sectors of the ethnographic spectrum. As indicated in the last chapter, a change in the economic sphere such as wage employment among residents of Frobisher Bay does not necessarily mean a corresponding and parallel acceptance of wages in terms of positive attitudes and values about the time orientations, the routine scheduling and the security of holding a job as compared to the seasonal variations, the freedoms, and the need for subsistence pursuits.

Because of these two assumptions, a synthetic combination of two distinctive groups could conceivably produce several end results. The InnuIt-Kabloona contact situation in Frobisher Bay during a given ten-year period from 1958-1968, produced a continuum of events, patterns, methods, and processes within the constraints of an artificial townsite in the Eastern Arctic region. Three possible outcomes could occur: one cultural group could be submerged by a dominant group; one group could be over-emphasized, "put-on-a-pedestal", or stereotyped for economic, social, and political reasons: or there could be a synthesis of the two distinct sociocultural groups into a new entity based on a mutual sharing in decision-making and other participatory democratic aspects of home and community change.

The analysis of sociocultural change based on these three assumptions emphasizes a need for including Eskimo people in deciding upon changes and planning directions for community development. Various people who have become

acculturated more readily than others, will provide references for those who are at the accommodation stage. Likewise, this later group influences the integrative group who in turn furnish the newly-orientated group with a model for change. Each successively higher phase provides a reference model for the group less integrated.

C. Initial Contact Of Eskimos And Kabloona In The Ikaluit Area Of Frobisher Bay Based On Phase I Characteristics

Ikaluit provided the home base for those Eskimos who had removed themselves there from relatively traditional nomadic subsistence areas throughout Baffin Island. Ikaluit had the largest population crowded into inadequate housing. Many of the Eskimos also epitomized the "romantic primitive" concept held by many Eurocanadians.

Ikaluit people adhered to strong Inuit values. Living accommodation patterns inevitably included as many members of the extended family as possible either within the household or living in close proximity to other members. Because of the influence of the extended family arrangements, a certain degree of stability was maintained because authority was still vested in the elders. Upon arrival in Ikaluit, the Eskimo extended-families often occupied hand-constructed cabins that were assembled from tents, canvas, sheets of metal, packing crates, and cast-off construction material. When such an apparition was vacated for one of the "cracker-

boxes" or "rigid frames", the cabin was readily occupied by newly arrived relatives or newly-weds who were seeking accommodation. The cracker-boxes and the rigid frames occupied an area of five-hundred and twelve square feet or five-hundred and thirty square feet, and were grossly overcrowded. During 1964, the average number of occupants per household unit was eight, consisting of parents, grandparents, children and other relatives. In 1967, the Department of Northern Affairs through the Eskimo Loan Fund, sought to reduce the number of occupants to six. (McElroy, 1968; 25). But the influx of people from northern settlements, the increasing birth rate, and the lower death rate created disparities to the extent that the government took drastic means to discourage migration into Frobisher Bay. Within most households five to twelve people lived. The average occupancy of each household in Ikaluit was far above eight. (Ibid.; 27)

Those Eskimos who were unable to obtain adequate subsistence from the hinterland surrounding Frobisher Bay, applied for social assistance; thus they began a cycle of negative acceptance of the new economy. A peculiar relationship developed. By varying food and clothing sources, yet not participating in the wage employment economy, the nomadic prototype Eskimo established a dependence relationship which did not resemble the laissez-faire state observed in the initial contact phase of history. A paradox resulted. Change often comes too easily for the Eskimo and

and allows procrastination in adjusting psychologically, attitudinally, and culturally.

During adaptation, certain social factors persist and particular patterns from the past are maintained. Strong kinship alliances persisted among those who came from the same home settlement. Children of kinsmen are readily adopted and fully accepted into the family. (McElroy, 1968; 23-26). A definite preference is shown for subsistence living to wage employment. Although most women disliked the inconvenience of year round camp living, they looked forward to summer living in camps. The men definitely preferred the hunting-fishing-trapping economy, but they were forced into town due to the depletion of game resources. Among men, a behavioral lag with preferences for nomadic pursuits is seen in contrast to the women's preference for urban living.

Generally, the Ikaluit people may be described as happy, good-natured, out-going, and relatively optimistic.

Environment imposed upon them a deep social consciousness, strong social bonds which many elsewhere has generally worn very loosely . . . The Eskimos had to abrogate all privacy; to submerge, yet at the same time to preserve their separate individualities; and to acquire the endurance of each others' idiosyncracies far beyond the capacity of most Europeans.

(Jenness, N.D.G.; 10)

Similar to many other nomadic hunting groups, the Eskimos vested authority in the most competent hunters and in those who conducted the rituals and maintained the animistic religious community. This was noted at both the family and the community levels.

Within the Ikaluit township, a number of kinship enclaves further sub-divided the community. The group cleavage resulted from the regional migration and relocation of various family members according to whether they came from Pangnirtung, Lake Harbour, Cape Dorset, or other points. Each enclave kept its own counsel and there were well-designated channels of communication within the associational groups. Each enclave resembled the ethnic groupings in southern Canadian communities.

Within the family, the parents provided for their children. By Eskimo custom, they exercised little control over the affairs of their youngsters except to teach them necessary survival skills, provide for their comfort and security, and award unconditional affection to them. The grandparents, especially those in Ikaluit, disciplined the children and decided when and how young people should spend their time and energies to the best advantage. This was especially noticeable when school report cards were handed out. The parents took the remarks on the report card as literal success or condemnation of themselves as parents. The grandparents assumed responsibility to remedy the problem. On the other hand, when decisions had to be made between the school and the parents regarding the student leaving Frobisher Bay and going to the Vocational School at Churchill, the parents replied that the boy or girl could decide for themselves. If, however, signatures were desired from a guardian or parent, the grandparents or another relative would do the signing or refuse to sign depending

upon family consultation. If a child was tardy, the parents would not give reasons for it or for absenteeism, whereas the other relatives would specify reasons. If a child needed assistance, the grandparents often asked the parents to see that this student did his assigned tasks. In almost all family groups where grandparents existed as members of an extended family unit, the teen-agers and youngsters were more able to be distinguished as having basic Eskimo social and cultural values. In most cases, the members of an extended family unit seemed more emotionally secure and self-reliant than members of nuclear families.

Change among the Ikaluitmiut was uneven and frequently was divergent in an urban setting. Life styles among Ikaluit people signified that pro-Innuait values were being maintained. The Eskimos established their own system of closure. They renewed traditional religious values, altering them to suit the needs of the urban situation. Food distribution based on communalism was encouraged. Hunting practices were altered to the extent that women stayed home and several men hunted together. Weapons, boats, motors, fishing gear, nets and ammunition were shared to outfit a hunting group. Child adoption was encouraged so that Eskimo legitimacy was assured. There were gift-giving rituals, household social ceremonies, constant visiting by women in the afternoon, and by the teen-agers and men in the evening. Ball games and other community social events were organized to perpetuate traditional gatherings of people around the hub of trading activities. Yet, throughout the whole community

modernization movement, social assistance and welfare were used as a tool to falsify the concept that "the whiteman assumes direction of change". (Honigman, 1965; 42)

Generally speaking, the Eskimos gave, "verbal assent to his suggestions", (Ibid; 102-3), but did not accept them as standards by which they could live. The local leadership had positive value in preventing a vacuum of native authority in the townsite of Ikaluit. It allowed Eskimo norms, values and culture to continue in a slightly modified form and provided a worthwhile function for certain members of the community.

The Eurocanadian position was quite different. It was significant that whites tended to hold rather low opinions of the more traditional Eskimo who does not participate or grasp opportunities to up-grade himself. On these grounds, the Ikaluit residents were denied social inclusion. They are also culturally disqualified by their own admission. The amount of discriminatory practice and its accompanying neglect in providing urban services and planning has been met with no effective comment or demand to improve the situation either from the Eskimos or the government civil servants. Outright prejudice and discrimination has resulted because the government agents and their families identify the Ikaluitmiut with low social class standing. The Ikaluit people hold little prestige, which places them on the bottom rung of a sociocultural ladder. Frequently, these attitudes are manifest in a self-fulfilling prophecy which eventually could become an actuality. In one particular

instance when an Eskimo went to the courts on an assault charge against a white person in Ikaluit, he made the following comment:

Some Eskimos don't like to see white men between their tents and houses. White men should not be in Ikaluit; maybe they have been drinking. Eskimo boys and girls have to be careful.

(Yatsushiro, 1962; 21)

Another comment indicates that there is still a strong fortification of traditional Eskimo values.

White man's life is better now; it wasn't before (white man's work with Eskimos). Now we have teachers and such, and Eskimo life has improved. It is more like white man's. Before, the Eskimo had very few material possessions. Now it is all much better, this with the white man's help. (Ibid.)

Eskimos are quite ethnocentric, and do tend to exclude the Kabloona. Yatsushiro, states:

Only the appearance (of Eskimo life today) is better, but the Eskimos minds are not better. The way they think is not as good as before. For example, stealing is becoming prevalent. And women are getting worse; they become tired of their husbands more easily. Separations did not occur frequently in the past. They occur more frequently today because there are more Eskimos here in Frobisher Bay. It is also due to the presence of white men. Some Eskimo (women) prefer white men to Eskimo men! (Ibid.; 20)

Other choices had to be made in the minds of Eskimos. The Ikaluit people were forced to make a choice between whether they wished to have material possessions or only a few of these, whether they would join the permanent labor force, or whether they would continue to hunt and fish and

trap. The methods of learning a new way of life would become more formalized and complicated. The decisions that will influence life pursuits will become more involved. Frequently, the Ikaluit people will have little choice regarding trends in modernization.

D. Reciprocal, Cooperative, And Rehabilitative Contact In Apex Hill Based On Phase II Characteristics

The situation in Apex Hill created the paradox of a model Eskimo community based upon a Rehabilitation Center and its welfare program. There were great discrepancies between government policy and its execution on the one hand; and the Eskimos general emotional, mental, and physical handicaps on the other.

The Rehabilitation Program was designed to educate family members to become self-sufficient through vocational and technological tutelage. Those members of this group who suffered psycho-social problems, particularly single parents and unwed mothers, were encouraged "to develop moral obligations and acceptable social roles". (Honigman, 1965; 163). Many of the latter persons were accommodated in transient quarters which accentuated their problems more than, had they been housed in single family quarters.

Essentially two things happened. First, a successful rehabilitant had two choices. He could return to his original settlement or assume one of the few possible positions in the local community. Others became dependent upon

provision of social assistance and grew to prefer such dependence upon government agencies. Some of the single parents married and established residency. The more promiscuous girls provided an over abundance of illegitimate children for adoption and many youngsters became wards of the government. For the first time, families declined adoption (a customary Eskimo practice) because the family allowance factor did not present sufficient incentive to adopt new children into their families.

Accompanying this trend among the women, was the disillusionment of the marriageable males. The customary practice of Eskimo trial marriages had become exploited by white frontiersmen and certain young Eskimo men. Secondly, the men suffered from a lack of good marriageable partners. The men, seeking social outlets, reverted to drinking and deviant behaviours. Young men who had expected to marry by the age of fifteen, were forced to delay marriage for five to ten years, while they were educated for the labor force. They frequently went to the brothels. Within one five-year period, 1960-65, the Anglican Church had not legalized any marriages among the Eskimo community. Only a few of the men of marriageable age availed themselves of the opportunity to develop craftsmanship or other kinds of technical, vocational and clerical skills that would help provide them a living in the urban situation. Many of the men finally went to the smaller settlements where they found marriage partners and attempted to regain traditional means of livelihood from the fast depleting resources.

The process of shifting families created many disjunctions which gradually broke the Eskimo culture into fragments economically, socially, and politically.

Although social problems occurred in Apex Hill, a specific proto-type personality emerged. The Apex people were allotted housing on a nuclear family basis. Relatives from the extended family unit were assigned to or occupied other housing, usually in Ikaluit. The distances between segments of the extended families created a communication problem among members.

As previously mentioned, the immediate parents had little authoritative jurisdiction over their young. The grandparents or other relatives traditionally provided the major anchorage in directing proper behavior of the young, in transmitting traditions and in outlining the roles of male and female offspring. In Apex Hill, the breakdown of extended families and the diffusion of authority in the Eskimo community had strong repercussions.

Repercussions occurred among the teen-agers. The longer apprenticeship periods for teen-agers created behavioral problems among a group of people who were formerly married in their early teens. The young Eskimos imitated Kabloona behavioral patterns. Their perception was incompletely based on overt behavior outside of home situations. The Eskimo teen-agers had limited social scope because of their social status. They seldom saw extreme affluence or extreme poverty. They viewed behavior based on middle-class standards of semi-professionals.

Relocating Eskimos from a subsistence base because of hospitalization or institutionalization projected people to change to a more elaborate division of labor than the previously male - female divisions of traditional Eskimos. Honigman states that numerous irregularities occurred in the irreversible process. Time orientation, seasonal pursuits for subsistence, the cooperative enterprise, poor work relations and familial adjustments in Apex, created alienation and its accompanying social disfunctions. (Op cit.)

The first Frobisher Bay school was opened in Apex Hill in 1955. A year later, the social welfare agency undertook a special project at the Rehabilitation Center. Known as the Rehabilitation Center for Baffin Island Eskimos, this was a

venturesome experiment that was designed to provide former hunters and members of their families with technical and social skills through which they could create new roles for themselves in a changing society. (Ibid.; 93)

Many persons who migrated were successful in re-orientating their lives. Others were marginal transients. Still others were delinquent or dependent society members. Generally speaking, "Rehab life" emphasized time orientation, union time employment, and gave little consideration to the variety of physical handicaps of certain members. Conceivably, it could prove congenial to happy living and could provide an opportunity to participate in civic responsibility. The Hongimans tended to evaluate the "Rehab" in quite positive terms.

Indicative of time orientations, Yatsushiro relates time to nomadic hunting life which would include game and bird migrations, tidal fluctuations, and the seasonal ice, snow and water conditions. The Rehabilitation Center attempted to bridge a gap between responsibility to a time commitment, to routineness and to promptness, by organizing cooperatively. Abraham Ookpik, a Western Arctic Eskimo, states that, "One of the most difficult tasks of an Eskimo hunter is getting adjusted to the simple routine of the hourly work situation". He states that usually these people could not tolerate monotony or disruption in completing tasks done on a piecemeal or assembly-line basis. In some cases they would not cooperate with non-kinsmen. There was great difficulty in adjusting to the routines in tasks required by assembly-line production. Three to five individuals working cooperatively tend to leave a total task incomplete. The inference drawn, was that individuals needed a complete orientation to Canadian work standards or that transitional type tasks should be explored to assist in the intercultural economic processes. With better communication and more cultural sensitivity training of the Kabloona personnel, the Eskimos may be able to adjust to the routinization of job employment.*

Reasons for migration to Frobisher Bay were usually more socially oriented than economically feasible for the families involved. This shows another value bias. Frobisher

*Personal communication with A. Ookpik. (See Honigman, 1965; 69).

offered marginal patterns of existence compared to remote settlements which were located in productive subsistence areas. Most persons came, not to seek physical comfort or economic benefits, but to be near their relatives and kinsmen. Honigman states that this shows InnuIt "disinclination to introspect" specific aims, objectives, and goals of future security and a "seeming inability to focus consciously and explicitly on his own less immediate purposes". (Ibid.; 97)

Positive integration of rehabilitants is difficult to assess. In 1961, two Eskimo persons drove the Department of Transport bus, three worked in janitorial positions with schools, and two delivered mail. Others were employed when the Apex Hill Community Association drew up loans for the operation of an independent taxi and bus service. Other jobs were also provided by a local coffee shop, a movie house, a dance hall, two handicraft outlets, and a bakery. (Yatsushiro, 1962; 20)

Eskimo-Kabloona relationships in both Ikaluit and Apex tended to be limited. A lack of communication among peer groups from the two cultures manifested itself in certain overt actions by Eskimos. Persons often remarked about the role-modeling and artificial "playing in the white world", which were attributed to the earnest endeavors of the Eskimo to accommodate the white culture in genuine face-to-face relationships. This was evidenced frequently among certain employers and tutors who restrained Kabloona power and authority in an attempt to allow for the development of

talents and resources which accomplish worthwhile aims for the Eskimo people.

An underlying reason for lack of intercultural communication may be evidenced by the greater and more varied diversity of interests of the Kabloona (Honigman, 1965; 123). The Eskimos' range of affairs appeared to be limited due to the short period of exposure. According to Frobisher's Eurocanadian population, their standards were to be upheld. However, the Eskimos who did not comprehend standards, especially those of licensing and law, ended up having legal, social, and cultural problems. They had a limited ability for making Kabloona-type decisions and yet they also lacked opportunity for trying out the more Inuit-oriented skills to solve any intercultural problems. Frustrations arose on both sides. Adding to the handicap was lack of facility in language which acted as a system of closure on both sides.

The lack of literacy and articulateness in English, cannot entirely account for the lack of jobs held by Eskimos in the community. Eskimos have usable skills and many are oriented toward modern technology. However, the availability of actual jobs is a problem because Kabloona transient workers are more effective members of the labor force than many northerners. Eskimos frequently became discouraged in training for specific jobs because of their tenuousness in holding jobs with specific skills.

An economic distribution of limited goods from the land still prevailed and was maintained between Ikaluit and Apex people. This tended to encourage a spirit of community mindedness.

Frobisher Bay families exchange visits and gifts of country food in relatively restricted circles. These circles consist primarily, if not exclusively of kinsmen and cut across neighborhoods like Ikaluit and Apex. Therefore, they provide a major justification for asserting that, viewed from the standpoint of the Eskimos and their ties with one another, Frobisher Bay constitutes a single community and not merely a collection of highly central localities.

Despite restricted circles that embrace related families, the Eskimos give Frobisher Bay the qualities of an open system, a community which possess a definitely non-corporate character. Time has hardly permitted customs to grow up that sharply and visibly cut off Frobisher Bay Eskimos from other Eskimo outsiders. No values assert superiority, of members versus outsiders. Land is not an issue around which townsmen could rally to block immigrants or that they could use to discriminate against new members' full-fledged participation. The main element that counteracts the community's openness is the Government policy discouraging immigration for Eskimos and non-Eskimos who might have difficulty finding a job or housing in Frobisher Bay. (Ibid.; 102)

Mobility within the two predominantly Eskimo townsites discouraged classification and stratification. Jobs are usually available and, from the Eskimo viewpoint, were not evaluated along prestige-status criteria. Egalitarianism as a value is maintained through economic sharing, social intermingling and religious affiliation. The qualities of individuals, and not social units like the family and the community, may alter as competition is imposed upon a more cooperative base. (Ibid.; 101)

Religion is again a two-fold system. The animistic system existed largely to bind economics and social orders into a functional system. During festivities, childbirth, and games, various elements were also manifest. The majority of Eskimos appeared regularly at the Anglican Church

and there was also an organization of lay communicant leaders. The Christian moral code operated to the extent that certain aspects are universal while others are disregarded as non-functional within the Eskimo's personal belief system. A question remained among Eskimos as to whether Christianity was accepted because it was a part of an individual's role to attend church or whether he was really a true adherent.

Apex became a very heterogeneous mixture of various types of Kabloona-InnuIt interactions. Specific attitudes and values are often subdued by numerous irregularities created by artificial contact situations. Noteworthy, is the role that the Rehabilitation Center and Cooperative played in providing opportunities for the development of Eskimo leadership, despite ones reliance upon welfare support and the official designation of the "Rehab" as a cooperative production unit. The acquisition of distinctive new life styles was hap-hazard because of the paradoxical situation at Apex Hill. An Eskimo could become integrated despite the system or he could become dependent as dictated by the system.

E. Rapid Integration Of Eskimos Into The Modern Economy At Airbase Based On Phase III Characteristics

Eight "hand-picked" prestigious families whose household heads were gainfully employed with the Department of Northern Affairs lived in Airbase, an area where some 400 Eurocanadians lived. (Honigman, 1968: 54-55). The inclusion of these eight families gave an integrated appearance and possibly provided local incentives to accommodate InnuIt ways in a Kabloona setting.

But local Kabloona-Innuit relations were strained. The attitudes of the Eurocanadians were either paternalistic or colonialistic. They regarded the Eskimos as a curiosity feature, as a primitive who could be exploited, or they viewed them as people to stay away from unless absolutely necessary. There was ostracism of whites who fraternized with Innuit. Other accompanying social problems created a true frontierism. Capital and labor were recruited from outside; the Kabloona populations were growing swiftly and yet there were few commitments to long range goals in the North.

Although the Airbase Innuit families participated in the Kabloona economy, mostly at the lowest level, they remained a group separated, apart both in location and type of dwelling. Ostensibly, their presence was necessary; in reality it was barely tolerated by the other government families. A brave Kabloona newcomer accepted tea and bannock (miniature baking powder biscuits) in an Innuit household. However, despite the simplicity and friendly hospitality of the Innuit women, an invitation to have tea in a Kabloona household was seldom extended. On the contrary, the Kabloona visitor frequently noted, not the cleanliness of the floors, but the shabbiness and poorly chosen furnishings. It was revealed by government stores' personnel that the Airbase Innuit households were frequently using furniture that was rejected by the more fastidious Kabloona.

The biggest change among Airbase people was created by the division of labor within a family unit. For the first time in Eskimo homes, women became wage employees. Wives and

daughters were employed outside of the home or in home industry. The second pay cheque coming into a household made considerable difference to the affluence of a particular family. In two families, the husband and wife worked while a grandparent and an aunt attended to housework and babysitting. In another family where the father had to stop working due to illness, the son and daughter were both employed and he did not need to accept social assistance. In a fourth home, an Eskimo woman employed two other people and established a parka-making home industry. She also employed a babysitter. Although the image of the working Eskimo woman met with some opposition among Ikaluit and Apex Hill people, the major acceptance of this new role for women was accepted among the families in Airbase. The factor of working mothers and young women constituted a major change in attitudes toward changing life styles of Eskimos in Frobisher Bay.

Perception of social assistance according to Eskimo view may be illustrated by certain changes that people in Frobisher are undergoing.

(It is functional) to maintain a relatively high level of satisfaction in town-dwelling Eskimo households -- apart from reasonable level of happiness, those households where, for example, breadwinners temporarily lose their jobs in seasons when opportunities for work fall off or when illness and age interfere with gainful employment and hunting. In this role, social assistance though hardly administered by Eskimos is quite consistent with a configurational goal of Eskimo culture. Such consistency stems from the fact that modern North American society in general, and modern government policies in particular, also hold happiness to be a paramount value, defining it materialistically much as the Eskimos do.

(Honigman, 1965; 90-91)

Although the Airbase families were quite acculturated, attitude irregularities occurred to indicate uneven changes in various segments of sociocultural development. To illustrate this more precisely, one Airbase person boasted of his beautiful wife. She was grossly overweight and looked quite unattractive to Kabloona people, but her size indicated that her husband was a good provider, an Eskimo manifestation of competence in hunting skills. This description satisfied a basic Eskimo value judgment that was rooted in traditional terms of providing. Little did this Eskimo know that if one lived on welfare or relief his wife could also be over-weight.

Until 1961, there was little inequality in aspirations, jobs, housing and income because every Eskimo who was employable was relatively on equal footing. If not actually engaged in earning wages he obtained funds from welfare, home industries, family allowances and games of chance. There was also a certain conformity in that parents sent their children to school but did not know what education provided in terms of social, economic, and political development. For example, competitiveness was a goal held in education. This goal did not seem meaningful to the Eskimos who upheld the qualities of individual cooperation as an educational goal. The emphasis on the individual received priority over stereotyped social categories and institutional development objectified by the government policy. Employment mobility and availability of jobs in service areas had been phased out because of increased mechanization after the initial

contact and construction period began to taper off in 1965.

In 1968, attempts to integrate the Airbase-InnuIt group halted. As a result, the desired "bridge in understanding and communicating" between Eskimos and Eurocanadians was discontinued. The eight InnuIt families were relocated in Apex and Ikaluit, because Eurocanadians needed the housing and did not want Eskimos on their doorsteps in Airbase. The relocated families became caught in another dilemma and began to question whether integration was worth the effort of working eight hours a day only to be socially ostracized by fellow workmen from both the InnuIt and the Kabloona communities. They had acquired urban amenities which separated them from those who were entirely dependent upon welfare, hunting, and fishing, and gambling groups in the village. They certainly found little solace in the fact that they did cling to many Eskimo values. The Apex familial problems with inherent instability created friction between those families who were relocated in Apex. But government designated housing in each of the two townsites created the greater conflict between families because the Airbase families were all housed in adequate, well-equipped government-built three-bedroom houses. This was premium housing by any northern standards. Certainly, in terms of the numbers it could conceivably accommodate, these houses meant that extended families could be housed under one roof. But the Airbase families had given up one of their InnuIt values and refused to have other than members of the immediate family live with them.

Many Airbase Eskimos, especially the women, still had another handicap because they lacked adequate communication skills and employable skills to elevate themselves above the level of employment that they now enjoyed. In addition to this, they had lost communication with many Eskimos in the total community because of differing systems of values. Sons and daughters of these Airbase families often had great difficulty in adjusting to any worth while task and many became juvenile offenders.

Airbase Eskimos had accommodated Kabloona ways for a period of time. Although ostracized by whites, the Eskimo's positive attitude toward change continued toward modernization and integration.

F. The New Eskimo Townsman Based On Phase IV Characteristics

The Eskimo community began to challenge the Euro-canadian authority to control and direct Eskimo affairs. This community aspect had gradually increased because of the cross-community interchange between Airbase, Apex Hill, and Ikaluit. A feeling of pan-Eskimo solidarity throughout the northern regions also increased the growth of new types of Eskimo people who took active roles in developing their communities. The opening of large regional vocational schools, the organization of Arctic trading alliances between various cooperatives and a northern communication network contributed to the growth of Frobisher Bay as an important link in Northern Canada. The degree of success that local authority and regional development has achieved may be also

measured in how well the Eskimos cope with various disfunctions within their own communities and within their regions.

At the community level, opportunities existed for local leadership to be actively developed in such organizations as the cooperatives, the community and church councils, and through the pursuit of entrepreneurship among the Inuit community. Elder leaders within the communities showed a type of leadership that appeared muted and restrained to the Kabloona but which in reality was very strong and well directed to Inuit. A third pattern existed as a type of symbiotic relationship between particular Kabloona tutors and their Eskimo adherents. Among the young persons, usually those under the age of thirty, the leadership was active, often vocal and very reactionary. In considering the role of leaders, various persons from the three communities who displayed conscious Inuit qualities, yet made decisions which affected the entire town of Frobisher Bay, will be studied.

The older leadership roles are based firmly upon kinship ties plus the experience gained from being a good provider and a resourceful person living off the land. The community frequently sought counsel indirectly and obtained decisions which were so diffused that few Kabloona were able to discover where the decision really came from. This type of hesitant and patient decision-making frustrated the efforts of many law-enforcers who had a great deal of difficulty solving some cases of jurisprudence involving disappearances and deaths of certain Eskimos who could no longer be tolerated

by the Eskimos in their own communities.

Some Ikaluit people and others from the Airbase were involved in the Community Association of Apex, the Community Council, the Fishing Cooperative, and the Carving Cooperative. Through the community provision for participating membership in certain minor roles associated with the distribution of goods, services, and talents, the Ikaluit people were well accepted and maintained personal self-esteem along with a sense of Eskimo community mindedness. The Eurocanadians did not accept the traditional native group. They neglected the community services and even barred Ikaluit people from certain facilities and areas. They showed open prejudice to the "shanty-town inhabitants". The Ikaluit people were slow to perceive and accept the subjection, they were also initially ill-prepared to fight for rights to which they were entitled. The Ikaluit persons did lack skills for work, but they did not lack skills for communication among themselves. They obtained the services of an articulate spokesman and then approached the various departments of the government to remedy situations such as poor services, roads, and bus services. As soon as some people learned English better, they aligned themselves with English-speaking people who would give assistance to break-down certain barriers. The very transient nature of the Eurocanadian population meant that the same mistakes were repeated by the government department personnel. The Innuits, however, practiced new methods of approach whenever they wanted to change their community.

Generally, those in authority-roles, or those whose counsel was sought in Ikaluit maintained an attitude of cultural separatism between Eskimos and Eurocanadians. Symonee Alingna outrightly opposed Eurocanadian policy in organizing Eskimos without due regard for wishes or suggestions from them about how the community of Ikaluit should be operated. He demanded a voice in decision-making and rebelled when a minority vote of Eurocanadians decided that Frobisher Bay should have a liquor outlet. Although Alingna was the most radical opponent of wholesale colonialism, he was supported by great numbers of Ikaluit people. Other Eskimos such as the Ikaluit carvers, wage employees whose jobs were fairly secure, the cooperative members who were independently working, and the Anglican lay readers, felt that government policy disrupted the Eskimo culture and stripped them of their pride in heritage. (Honigman, 1965: 14-20, 42, 102-3). Although many of these persons sought to provide leadership bridges into the Eurocanadian group, they were hampered by lack of skills in cross-cultural communication because they were not competent in English.

The second type of leadership was that designated as the symbiotic leadership resulting from a partnership between a knowledgeable Kabloona and an informed Eskimo. Because the Eskimo townsman is just a newly arrived urbanite, there are certain explicit benefits to be derived in close friendships with people from other cultures. Eventually the Eskimo person would build up skills in communication in the second language situation. Gradually, the use of English would

transcend the wage employment situation and begin to deal with translating abstractions such as attitudes, goals and values to the Kabloona. Direct insights may also be gained from the dominant culture. Trial and error frustrations could be worked out to the mutual benefit of the two groups. The Kabloona groups could translate Eskimo needs into better policies. Any catalyst agent who was an agent of change, could also gain insight into his own culture and see it more clearly through the eyes of one who was viewing it for the first time. Although the type of relationship just described is possibly one of the most functional methods of promoting sociocultural change, very few Kabloona were willing or able to give constructive assistance to an Eskimo to produce cross-cultural understanding. Almost inevitably the short tenure of southern people in the North negated this change process because certain tensions developed within the white community demanding conformity. Surprisingly enough, the Eskimo custom of non-interference in another person's life cushions the prejudice engendered by the Eurocanadian community. His tolerance tended to reserve judgment but, in actuality, it worked as a system of closure for the Innu. Very little cultural change will be realized until there are direct Eurocanadian and Eskimo friendships which give up some of the priorities of each culture. A further note should be made; the custom of non-interference had traditional significance because it allowed for persons to live in very close contact with members of the household in isolated areas under austere conditions. However, research has shown that

there were adverse affects upon the mental health of many Eskimos.

Gradually leaders emerged "who clamor to have a hand in decision making and assuming leadership or other responsibilities". (Honigman, 1965; 103). These persons formed an integral part in the modern Eskimo life styles in Frobisher Bay. The women in the various communities participated equally with men, holding jobs, and assuming responsibilities in associations, cooperative organizations and councils.

Economic roles and expectations had not been entirely clarified by either contact culture. The arbitrariness of local government administrators and instructors often overlooked possible opportunities for Eskimos to assert their initiative and resourcefulness. For example, decisions were often made during general assemblies of Eskimos that would not have occurred if left entirely to joint Kabloona-Innuit jurisdiction. Manipulation by Kabloona was much in evidence. The Innuits held much respect for individual autonomy; therefore, the leadership and decision making processes were subdued or muted.

Not equipped with the skills, knowledge or taste to lead, plan, direct and co-ordinate, yet living in an urban setting that demands a hitherto unknown degree of coordination and sanctioning. Eskimos have for the most part willingly let Eurocanadians guide and patrol.
(Honigman, 1965; 100)

The narrowly delimited categorization of administration prescribed an inflexible economic and political structure. This often created friction among the loosely structured independent familial functionings of the more traditional Eskimo. The normative guidelines fluctuated. Honigman attributed this to the various statuses and roles that an Eskimo must play to meet the expectations of the tutelage group, the welfare agent and other administrative staff. There was little room allowed for deviation or transgressions among the Eskimo group. Inter-group anxieties among Eskimos from various settlements added to anxieties of the people themselves.

Note should be made that until Abraham Ookpik assumed responsibility for reassessing the Rehabilitation Center, Simonie Aligna had established an Ikaluit cooperative and Simonee Michael was working with the Sisi Housing Cooperative as well with an inter-community council. Other Eskimos were also involved participants. From the small nucleus, certain persons eventually became involved in semi-managerial work and could work under supervision in various government agencies. Three people subsequently operated independent businesses after they left the Rehabilitation Center. These people were a few of the positive successes because they had learned specific skills and had established themselves after the rehabilitation period.

There were growing disparities, especially those associated with economic expectations.

Perhaps the most pervasive disjunction lies in the contrast between the growing responsibility Eurocanadians hope for the Eskimos' growth toward such a role. Official Government policy wishes to develop Eskimos to where they, in association with other "northerners" will be able to direct many of their own affairs. That most Eskimos have far to go before they will be able to do so, isn't our main point. More significantly, the vast power Eurocanadians retain combined with the segregation they observe in many social situations, retard the Eskimos' ability to develop added and varied competence. In some subjects, like law, he receives no explicit tutelage and in others, for example consumer co-operatives, the government dare not openly lead too far or local businessmen are hostile. (Honigman, 1965; 154)

In the initial and secondary phases of contact, Frobisher Bay tended to provide relatively equal opportunities among Eskimos, thus eliminating disparities among satisfactions gained from urban living. This economic opportunity maintained cultural equalitarianism. The process then became reversed with the influx of Eurocanadians who competed for jobs and facilities.

Institutional controls, planning and policy-making were extra-local and administration was executed in a depersonalized and directive manner usually from Ottawa. Frequently, economic policy was either incoherent or inconsistent. There may have been little justification for supporting an enterprise like the cooperatives which did not appear to have long range economic benefits. Fishing for Arctic char provided only three weeks of employment. Yet, this seasonally operated cooperative was encouraged and developed because of

the net income. It was not organized in conjunction with any other form of employment and interfered with work opportunities on the shore for annual ship unloading. Funds for pilot projects and cooperative organization were often misused or misplaced. (Ibid.)

Academic and occupational up-grading of northern people was not stressed at first. The schools failed to obtain funds for continuing education for adults. Limitations were placed on the use of facilities and the type of teachers available to teach adult programs. Similarly, the medical staffs and other social research and economic planning programs, were hampered by lack of funds, facilities, and resource personnel. These are typical frontier development problems. (Clarke, 1962; 7-14)

On the political scene, local autonomy and community development were discouraged by government employees. Although no precedence had been established, certain Kabloona had coached certain Eskimos to assume local leadership roles. Some cooperative organizations had provided excellent training ground for participants, but the complete operation of these organizations demanded better qualified people to do the clerical work and handle the budget. The government had the ultimate jurisdiction in the operation of all the cooperatives. Yearly audits necessitated that all monies be accounted for with no exceptions made for inadequate handling of funds. Until 1967, there were no training programs for Eskimos in the area of clerical work. At that time certain Eskimos who had gained some experience in

clerical work associated with cooperatives were sent to the Western Cooperative College in Western Canada.

The Eskimo townsmen who integrated rather quickly began to see alternatives. They realized the importance of being Eskimos, participating in community development, and identifying with Eskimos in other areas. The modern Eskimo townsmen provided a role model for other emergent groups and accelerated socioculture change.

G. The Range Of Cultural Change

Various historical and contact situations define the boundaries of three sequential historical stages and socio-cultural phases of development. Certain generalizations are derived from reviewing a proportion of change of groups in Frobisher Bay.

The Eskimos, like other nomadic groups, subordinate values associated with property, materialism, economic accumulation of goods and money, and tend to hold strong value orientations toward interpersonal relationships. They emphasize the use of the natural environment in the most creative and efficient manner, allowing everyone free access to natural resources with no territorial rights given to individuals. (Berry, 1966; 228-229)

At the traditional subsistence level, where people utilize animals from the land and sea, there was a low productivity rate in terms of capital accumulation. Time and energies were expended on providing basic daily needs

such as food, clothing, and mobility. The old system was present-oriented for day-to-day living, and was ritualized by adherence to taboos, regulations, and close pursuit of animistic beliefs.

The contact with Kabloona released people from day-to-day demands. The family division of labor between man and women was altered. Food habits became less ritualized with the introduction of store purchased items. The necessary time involved in procuring and processing furs was eliminated with the advent of store purchased duffel and grenfeld cloth. The strong religious affiliations became a less important factor when food-stuffs were obtainable through the use of traps, guns, ammunition, and motor-equipped boats and ski-doo's. Religion lost its living force. As communication and transportation networks opened up the settlements and camps, the Eskimo language was modified by the use of pidgin vocabularies. As people pursued new roles, made new decisions and left the subsistence-based camps, the Eskimo language was modified by incorporation of a new system of logic. As one anthropologist states, the Baffin Island Eskimos were jolted out of the past and presented with an uncertain future that might not be of their own design.

Many Eskimos moved their residences from nomadic bases and small settlements to larger townsites such as Frobisher Bay. They became members of a wider community than one which included their families and kinsfolk. In addition to the change in residence they were forced to pursue new economic and community roles. The government encouraged migration to

settlements where family allowance cheques and old-age pensions could be distributed. The settlement benefits included health care and housing for the elderly. The reliance upon goods and services from settlements and also relief payments gained almost immediate acceptance. Little thought was given to the subsequent lag in social and cultural adjustment and its accompanying problems.

Essentially the depleting food resources, the unstable food supply derived from semi-subsistence and bartering, and the long distances from posts coupled with severe climatic conditions and the poor health of the people necessitated the orientation toward settlement and urban living. The dependence upon the government and the alteration of economic pursuits occurred in a very short time. Peter Freuchen states that, "The Eskimo people benefited greatly in terms of general well-being, whereas if they had clung to the less viable traditional modes of existence, they would have not endured the rigors of the North nor survived the twentieth century." (Freuchen, 1961; Chapter III)

The Eskimo individual, internalized the meaning of change. Eventually a new established set of attitudes resulted in a new system of values that are probably cross-cultural.

Eskimo's deference to other individual's rights are muted when viewed by Eurocanadians. Weyer states:

Religion influences social conduct through regulating good and bad behavior. Elaborate systems of taboos operate to control the food supply and to maintain a moral code which channels activity into the task at hand. (Weyer, 1953; 228)

According to Vallee:

The moral code has four elements; filial piety, respect for others' property, respect for other persons and willingness to share. One reason the Eskimo social organization proved so adaptable to change is that the norms of conduct governing man's relation to man were not satisfied in explicit commandments derived from the supernatural. Incest, hoarding and taboo-breaking are also implicit in myths. (Vallee, 1966; 8 and 9)

Contact with strangers is restrained for quite a period, yet Innuits do not suppress emotions. The idea of non-interference in others' lives explains Inuit success in living harmoniously in Kabloona situations. There is little show of hostility, conflict or sustaining social problems. Honigman describes an ideal bureaucracy as one that circumscribes individual initiative disallowing personal action beyond assigned prescribed duties. (Honigman, 1965; 99). Eskimos therefore who are:

not equipped with the skills, knowledge or taste to lead, direct, plan and coordinate, yet living in an urban setting that demands a hitherto unknown degree of coordination and sanctioning, have for the most part willingly let Eurocanadians guide and control. Gradually, however, leaders are emerging who clamor to have a hand in decision-making and seek to gain access for Eskimos to goals and privileges largely monopolized by Eurocanadians. (Ibid.; 42)

When conflicts, tensions and dilemmas emerged, the Eurocanadians were generally ill-equipped with social skills to lessen them. Honigman stated that deference and withdrawal were the simple devices that Eskimos used to control or influence the power structure.

They reasoned that people being patient with one another, not pressing one another to conform, not trying to change

or reform each other, and withdrawing from strong, threatening interpersonal situation. People dam-up considerable unexpressed hostility. Withdrawal, therefore, constitutes one pacifistic response to situations that generate hostility . . . Withdrawal occurs not only in response to external social situations in which the individual feels himself pressed, constrained or threatened. A depressed mood sometimes envelops a person without apparent environmental threat, suggesting that internal conflicts, intense shame, guilt or depression are motivating the ego's withdrawal.
(Ibid.; 244-45)

Eskimo security and self-confidence could promote competition but this was often undermined by adolescent-like envy and jealousy. Inuit status and prestige were at variance with the Kabloona categorization of two aspects that concern norms and ideals.

Eskimos evaluate concrete events and things, condemn specific wrongs, and praise individual meritorious accomplishments. They appreciate moral goodness and physical comfort and dislike physical inconvenience and know that things don't have to stay as they are, even though they lack a blue print which specifically defines what life should approximate.
(Ibid.; 237)

Value orientations of Eskimos seem to be arranged in terms of lineality or sequence rather than in terms of acculturative change; in doing rather than being; on assuming that future functions will occur rather than in being motivated to control those operations.

Two disfunctions occurred. The first is social assistance. This seemed to be entirely consistent, at least in the early stages, with food dispersal and ritual distribution of goods based on traditional modes of exchange.
(Ibid.; 85-93)

But people relied on social assistance until they became wards of the government. The second factor was the problem of **alcoholism** and drinking and its related social repercussions. (Ibid.; 14)

Change has been guided by the government more in Frobisher Bay than in many northern communities. One of the outcomes has been that:

The Eskimos' successful adjustment to a new culture depends on many mutually reinforcing elements in their current situation, including their curiosity, resourcefulness, and readiness to "try it". Confidence to experiment, intelligence to benefit from experience, and on the other characterological traits acquired in early life. Change is probably aided by the fact that Eskimos participate in many areas of town life as if they were fully entitled to those resources of the town. (Ibid.; 161)

Past spiritualistic beliefs as cited by Weyer and Vallee provided self-maintenance mores for emergent Eskimos. The Anglicanization and new perception of God as interpreted by the lay readers also indicated the ability to abstract and to utilize new cognitive patterns. Edmund Carpenter notes a disregard for environmental determinism which has implications for sociocultural learning during transformation. (Carpenter, 1964; 12). He states that they perceive in horizontal, consequential and integrative manners. Vertically structured and heirarchical concepts such as the super-imposed government departmental system tend to alienate Eskimos and frustrate them because they cannot understand the system of inter-relationships. (Ibid.; 12). The government's frequent sense of impersonality, removed

leadership and sponsorship created added discontinuity.

(Danas, 1966; 45-48). The Eskimo personality, however, allows for co-existence because "he readily adopts new ideas and beliefs, he modifies all of them so as to make them assimilate readily with his previous ideas and beliefs".

(Stefannson, 1914; 9). Overcoming anxieties and frustrations in this manner may explain why aggression and giving vent to one's emotions is uncommon in the Eskimo society.

H. Summary Of General And Specific Cultural Dynamics

The nature of the Eskimo and his view of the world allow him to live in compatible agreement with the various Kabloona aspects within his community. The personality characteristics, the familial affiliations and the communal manner of existence have provided a culture that is cohesive enough to maintain many traditions even with the onslaught of Eurocanadians who have come to "help, encourage, guide, goad". (Honigman, 1965; 162)

Cultural continuity persists due to the continued personal satisfaction of individuals in accommodating only those items from Kabloona that are worthwhile to them. As alternatives, they can still return to smaller settlements to hunt. This choice which is rather terminal, tends to give personal and cultural strength needed for functional integration.

Leadership development on the other hand is a persistent on-going process among the townspeople. Because of various

community disfunctions a leadership vacuum could occur in Frobisher Bay. According to Hall in 1864, a traditional leader:

in every community is someone who, in consideration of his age, shrewdness, or personal prowess is looked up-to, and whose opinions are received with more than usual deference; but he has no authority whatever, and an Inuit is subject to no man's control. Though olden times there were chiefs among the Innuits, there are none now. There is absolutely no political organization among them.
(Weyer, 1967; 12)

Because of this factor, leadership is defined according to position in situations and not as political roles. This counteracted the personally defined leadership patterns that prevailed in the governmental arrangements. Leadership in Ikaluit and Apex, tended to fluctuate according to the tasks, whether they be cooperatives, craft groups, or social groups. A narrow line divided the cooperative-oriented authority model and the hierarchial competitive model. But the barrier does exist between the two and it may be attributed to one concerned with the communication of values.
(Danas, 1966; 8-52).

Certain economic pursuits created dependency and these are seen in many Kabloona-Inuit arrangements.

The dearth of Eskimo leadership follows logically from such things as the traditional nature of the Eskimo political life; people's unpreparedness to deal with community problems that seem to belong to the white man's province, and the Department of Northern Affairs's monopolization of effective political power. (Honigman, 1965; 120)

In terms of Eurocanadian middle-class community values, superficial resemblances and priorities are non-existent when allowing for Eskimo inclusion. The Eskimos, with few exceptions, are considered outsiders. Incomplete institutionalization exists.

When Eskimos are dominated by Eurocanadian, social superior power, social relations in Frobisher Bay are also demarcated by an invisible line that keeps Eskimos and Eurocanadians firmly apart, except in limited circumstances. Individual members of one ethnic group sometimes do penetrate the other's society, but the customary state is separation, not amalgamation. A man's job in D.N.A. channelizes considerable contact between Eskimos and whites, and even encourages some warm friendships in which shop supervisors occasionally join their men for a weekend hunting on the Bay. Families belonging to different ethnic groups don't form close friendships, steadily visit each other or enjoy common recreation. When a Eurocanadian family invites an Eskimo couple to dinner, the circumstances are apt to be special; perhaps it is Christmas or the Regional Administrator is entertaining dignitaries from Ottawa; (Ibid.; 121)

The division of Kabloona and Eskimos cannot be blamed specifically and entirely on variant fears, tastes and interests. The basic values held by Eskimos are analogous to those held by many immigrants from other countries or those who move from rural areas into towns. The Kabloona's initial curiosity sparks expectations and makes demands upon the shy, wary Eskimo who may find these overtures rude and impolite. Eskimos are friendly in a subdued fashion. Small talk and trivia are distasteful. Often during a visit in an Eskimo home, conversation does not begin until about a half-hour is passed, although recognition and hospitality

is extended through gestures and facial expressions. The Honigmans draw the following conclusion:

Even though Eskimos don't live in poverty or disorganization (was noted in previous discussion) and occupy the same types of houses, wear similar clothing, and dance the same dances that Euro-canadians do, their mode of life at many points contrasts with that of the Eurocanadians. When cultural worlds are substantially different, they are also proportionately difficult to penetrate casually. Cultural divergence encourages social separation and particularly so when, as in Frobisher Bay, it goes with disproportionated administrative and economic power. (Ibid.; 124)

In recreational associations differences can be noted. With the exception of the curling club which maintained lower fees to encourage Eskimo participation and F.A.R.A. Club (Frobisher Bay Recreation Association), which did not open its doors to Eskimos until 1966, access to recreational outlets was denied. On the other hand, the Apex Community Association sponsored movies, dances, and bingos and the spring, "Tunik Time", carnival but Kabloona participation was never denied. A pool hall and one coffee house patronized by Eskimos in 1964, provided most of the outlet for community recreation. One cafe was closed because it catered to Innuits.

The "apartheid type" differentiation, socially and politically, was a force that possibly created change more quickly than if the Inuit people had been totally included and accepted in community affairs. To overcome the exclusion problem, the Inuit either had to acquire those skills which enabled them to participate or develop suitable alternatives.

Both of these aspects provided for functional change to continue in Frobisher Bay over a twenty-year period.

Based on ethnographic data of two inter-acting groups in Frobisher Bay, this study has outlined how two groups, the Inuit and the Kabloona have interacted, related, altered and evolved new phases of characteristically different life styles. A preceding historical review established the characteristics of the traditional basic Eskimo culture before contact and during initial contact stages. The next phase dealt with the characteristics of urban and settlement contact between the two groups. A fourth phase of change has been in process and will likely continue as a forerunner of cultural transformation among most Eskimo townfolk. It is a normal outgrowth of phase three and can act as a reference or predictive model to provide direction and leadership to emergent Eskimo townsmen.

The ideal of a fully-developed community is one wherein people function as community oriented persons participating to the best of their ability realizing that each has responsibilities toward home, community and nation.

Of what meaning is change to the Eskimo townsman in Frobisher Bay, 1970? It could mean that:

- a. strong leadership patterns emerge among the young elite and the seasoned leaders remain actively involved in decisions of the community;
- b. traditional and contact livelihoods are largely replaced by entrepreneurship or skilled occupations which provide good incomes;
- c. hunting and fishing become recreation pursuits;

- d. Eskimos contact other northerners and promote a regional affiliation;
- e. Eskimos and Kabloona jointly share all community decision-making responsibilities;
- f. there be an equitable inter-culturative exchange, economically, socially, and culturally.

While participating as an observer in Frobisher Bay during 1963-64, change as noted among Eskimos appeared to be rapid and sequential. However, certain lags were noted, latent frustrations were beginning to create public concern, and some groups were withdrawing from contact situations. Generally, there were regular over-all changes among most members of the various communities. Certain Eskimo organizations involved community members and these organizations had responsible and articulate leaders who were liasons with government and Kabloona organizations. The Eskimos held receptive attitudes toward change. When their skills were in demand they participated in new forms of economic pursuits. However, it was noted, that Eskimos had not entirely changed their values and traditions, in-as-much as they questioned the pursuit of modernization and the direction of integration. If the terms of integration were specifically Kabloona defined and lacked consideration for Inuit traditions, then the Eskimo people would slow the pace of change and become more dogmatic in decision-making among and within their specific Eskimo communities.

The third assumption of sociocultural change deals with the aspect of a synthesis of two cultural types. During the four stages of historical contact, a dominant-majority

and subservient-minority relationship existed between Kabloona and Innuits. During the four phases of adaptation in Frobisher Bay, there were few reciprocal relationships between the two cultures. Eskimos tended to follow the dictates of Kabloona government and leaders and administrators. Within the Eskimo community, organizations such as the cooperatives, the Apex Community Association, and the Eskimo Council provided for training in leadership and development of skills in decision making. Until Eskimos had become fairly articulate in English, had been in the wage economy for several years and had served in several community's organizations, they were unable to identify themselves as an ethnic group within the Canadian nation. A fifth hypothetical phase is concerned with those Eskimos who have been acculturated and now re-affirm themselves as Eskimos at a regional and national level. Eskimos who have outlooks beyond the immediate community are concerned with regional development, pan-Arctic solidarity, and organizations of Eskimos into cooperative movements and brotherhood organizations such as Tapirsat. Eskimos, operating at Hypothetical Phase V, may identify themselves with Indian-Eskimo Associations or Canadian Native Organizations in attempts to gain regional recognition as Eskimos and as northerners.

Chapter Five

Defining Educational Directions To Promote Sociocultural Changes In Frobisher Bay

Change as discussed in previous chapters, has been regular, sequential and relatively non-directed. If Frobisher Bay is to grow into a well integrated community, a synthesis of the two cultural ways of life needs to be promoted. A well integrated community creates new processes of involvement for people in community functions, planning and development. A formally directed program should be an educational program. The format should be designed for continuing extension of knowledge channelled along community development objectives.

The application of community history, ethnography, and dynamics of change must be made according to a frame of reference. The changes or progressions can be plotted over a short period of time. These phase changes are then defined in process terms in Table 2.

The processes involved in creating a sense of community identity as Eskimos are essentially social, political, economic, and educational. In this study, they pertain to adults and young people in Frobisher Bay. The community has been used as a focus for directed and planned activities for those adults who are willing and able to become involved as participating and responsible citizens. Adults who become involved in the community gain self-esteem pride and new

PHASE	PROCESSES OF CULTURAL DYNAMICS
I. Ikaluit	exposure and orientation to another culture.
II. Apex	community imposed rehabilitation and integration.
III. Airbase	directed accommodation and participation.
IV. Pan-community Town	forced integration and acculturation and the establishment of Eskimo identity in Canada.

Table 2. CHART OF PHASE PROCESS CHANGES

outlooks. Frequently they come to realize that their community is a viable entity at the regional and national level.

Kuttner in a discussion of "Cultural Selection of Human Psychological Types" states that, "In man's cultural dimension (there are) selective pressures found that shape his development". (Montagu, 1963; 286) Furthermore:

there is a necessary congruence between government and the institutions by which individual character is formed. For a political constitution to endure an appropriate temperament must be inculcated into citizenry. Stable government with stable constitutions exist because they rest on a stable citizenry . . . A span of time is required before the masses adjust to their government . . . The fitting of national character to sociopolitical forms is a process of mutual adaptation, and it is evident that over a period of time those who cannot assimilate themselves to the developing pattern are eliminated, by exile, emigration, or some means of social attrition. (Ibid.; 286-287)

Although these remarks are fittingly directed at conquered nations, they also bear relevance to the semi-colonized group of people who have moved into Frobisher Bay. In the initial twenty years of urbanization in Frobisher Bay, Eskimo persons have sought their own level of adaptation. Their level of adjustment seems fairly consistent with previous confrontations with Kabloona and the successes or failures experienced when dealing with various institutions and agencies. In order to create new growth incentives, a systematic planning and development program must operate between the two cultures.

Frank Darnell advocates that extremely different views in educational approach be taken in northern schools. He

realizes that teachers need to be encouraged to avoid "ghettoization". The teachers or adult educators should review the true nature of the needs of the students, taking into consideration the history and development of the northerners concerned. (Gooderham, 1968; 65) Darnell states:

In recent years various Native groups have been voicing concerns in a much more sophisticated manner than heretofore and making articulate demands for a more meaningful educational experience for their children and a greater voice in determining future educational policy. (Ibid.)

Realizing this, acknowledging the problems, and then striving to solve them is an important factor in changing or assisting people to adopt change and become involved in change through educational means. Any learning situation, whether it be a formal school type or learning to discuss wages for a community water-truck operator, has educational value.

In reference to the Alaskan situation, Darnell poses three pertinent questions:

1. How may the recent findings in the behavioral sciences, such as cultural anthropology and perceptual and social psychology, be brought to bear on the educational process in Northern bush schools, especially in the attitudes and methods of teachers and the cultural relevance of the curriculum?
2. What effect might application of these findings have on the individual native pupil, especially the extent to which an enhanced self-concept may enable him to succeed where theretofore he has failed to do so?
3. What steps may be taken to effectuate change in the administrative structure of Alaskan rural schools to enable the People themselves to express a fuller and more meaningful voice in deciding

educational policy consistent with the needs as they see them. (Ibid.: 66)

The major objective in this study has been to review historical and ethnographic data and analyze the sequential changes that have occurred over a period of time. Using this as a basis, a planned and directed approach can be made toward the education and inclusion of adults in community development programs.

A proposal of educational objectives and methods of approach will provide an outline to guide certain aspects of change. No attempt will be made to delimit any curriculum to a textbook recipe formula. Teachers can exercise this prerogative if they are trained interculturally to develop new programs for specific communities and in specific subject areas.

The four phase development used in the last three chapters will be carried one step further in relation to educational objectives. A fifth hypothetical phase will be dealt with as it pertains to the growth of pan-Eskimo regional and territorial solidarity. This phase is presently in the developing in a number of forms among which is the presentation of a brief to the Department of Education to change educational programs in the North.

Certain Eskimos have adapted more successfully than others. In this they have fulfilled the Kuttner expectation of selective adaptability.

A. Phase I -- Orientation to a Contact Situation

I. Process of Orientation

New Eskimo residents in Frobisher Bay see another culture in unique terms; all of which are relevant to their previous experiences. What Kabloona see as relevant does not necessarily fit the context of how Eskimos view themselves. Both groups will pick and choose those cultural items which are regarded as most important and desired by them.

The people living in Ikaluit are representatives of traditional Eskimo culture, but in contact situations modifications were made. When the Eskimos first came into Frobisher Bay, they needed guns, ammunition, traps, fishing gear, and tobacco for the men. The women chose cloth goods, cooking utensils, flour, lard, baking powder, tea, bedding, and highly processed foods such as potato chips and pop. Children delighted in having store-purchased toys, clothes, candy and pop. Household items included radios, a cook-stove, linoleum, chemical toilets, mattresses, suitcases, and appliances.

Demands for housing were minimal. The types of shelter were evaluated in terms of "its better than we had". Most persons preferred to go in taxis rather than use dog-sleds or boats for transportation. People used the medical facilities, sent their children to school, and attended church. Many younger people tended to congregate at the pool hall, the barber shop, and the coffee shop. The older people socialized at the Hudson Bay stores or in relative's homes.

II. Translating Orientation Into an Educational Program For Ikaluit People

Both Yatsushiro and Honigman note the outward appearance of contentedness among the villagers. Ethnocentrism provided security to accept only certain aspects, mainly material items, during the orientation phase. The old ways were strongly maintained as values which were viable because they had withstood the test of time, were traditional, known and intrinsic. This justified the Ikaluitmiut opinion that little attention need be given to accommodate any attitudinal change toward modernization and integration.

Certain irregularities appeared in Eskimo value terms. Work situations tended to be avocational while playing games of chance could, just as likely, be classified as vocational. Carving and the sewing of toys or other tourist craft items would likely be recreational. These tasks relieved the monotony of an individual living in overcrowded surroundings in the village households.

The question arose as to whether the actual holding of a job, tenuous as it was, merely relieved the boredom when not hunting or trapping. Certainly there appeared to be few Eskimos who held status symbols attached to any form of skills. The governing factor for the Ikaluitmiut seemed to be comfort. If their interest was suited to performing a certain task, and they were adequately skilled, they frequently adjusted to the idea both economically and socio-culturally.

Certain choices are noteworthy. During the orientation phase, many Eskimos held jobs at the docks, participated in the fishing cooperative and were involved in the construction trades. They showed preference for this type of employment because it gave them freedom from the regularities imposed by continuous full-time employment.

Two types of educational programs could be incorporated for the Ikaluit people. Each should be as informal and unstructured as possible. A work experience or earn-while-you-learn program could maintain a sense of non-threatening security to the men. A projects officer could work with participants on the job. He should be able to speak Eskimo and also teach some fundamental English related to the work which might be concerned with road construction, snow removal, fishing, or construction. Working in groups could reduce friction among shyer persons, provide added incentives in community building programs and teach certain employable skills in a meaningful manner. A flexible schedule would insure participation without the feeling of obligation. Seasonal programs would relieve the monotony and provide experience in various kinds of tasks prior to making a long-term commitment to full-time employment. Cooperative ventures would prove more viable than rigid competitive work. In a cooperative system certain people could gain decision-making skills. Some time could be taken to explain the use of money as a replacement to the previous barter-trading systems.

For the women, the following approach is suggested. Those women chosen for particular home projects should be related along kinship lines and on friendly terms among themselves. Groups could then be organized within the homes in Ikaluit with occasional programs being conducted in a more formal situation such as the school. The idea of a "social outing", in other's homes or in classrooms, provides for fun and sociability, especially if it is a special occasion. The more informal programs may introduce consumer goods which are unfamiliar to the people, along with methods to incorporate them into the various households when desired. Another area could focus around new implementations such as running water, ovens, kitchen utensils, and the recycling of used goods. Home sessions would focus upon methods of cleanliness, enrichment of the food menu, budgetting available funds and the use of credit, child care, safety, sewing and crafts. The program should be cooperative, non-threatening and preferably, conducted by an Eskimo speaking person.

The main objectives would be:

- a. To provide encouragement to newcomers in Frobisher Bay, and specifically in Ikaluit; particularly to familiarize themselves with new items and uses for these items in their environment.
- b. To teach recognition of values of cooperative participation.
- c. To help participants utilize past skills, knowledge, and gain self-esteem in their new situation.
- d. To explain evaluation of new items and new ideas, considering the relevancy to a given family in terms of needs and resources.

- e. To aid in acceptance or rejection of those items which enhance or negate existing values as a major step in an initial orientation toward decision-making processes.

B. Phase II -- Rehabilitative Integration At Apex Hill

I. Process of Integration Through Cooperatives

Those Eskimos who were resettled in Apex faced numerous problems. Many had physical handicaps caused by accidents or had suffered from tuberculosis or other respiratory ailments. Others had suffered from mental illness or were being returned from penal institutions. All generally, were classified as persons unable to cope with immediate return to their home settlements. Some could eventually go to outlying centers, it was hoped, if they were successfully rehabilitated.

John Berry demonstrated in his research that there was a relationship between the ecological characteristics of a society and the skills in perceiving relationships among members, and adjusting to meet the requirements. Berry's study indicates that even in the case of the traditional ecological need to survive, one responded differently if he were in an urban and relatively modern environment. Because of the long periods of winter, the cold, and isolation and its accompanying pursuit of nomadism, Berry states that the Eskimo "inhabits a world of uniform visual stimulation". (Berry, 1966; 211). When searching for sea mammals and land game, the actual visual acuity required for the situation

necessitated developing navigational skills to survive in an environment which has diffused spatial location markers. An Eskimo learned to chart his course according to relationships of objects around him. Combined with an ability to translate spatial location graphically, (Carpenter, 1964; 12), to localize space, and to make detailed discriminations in a relatively barren visual environment, the Eskimo was required to be alert and aware of minute cues. (Berry, 1966; 227). When research data was correlated with socialization practices and tested among acculturated adults in Apex Hill in 1965, Berry states that adults showed positive attributes toward individualism, assertiveness, and venturesomeness. They related subsistence to wage economy and there was more adeptness in acquiring various aspects of Kabloona culture and adapting to it. Some difficulty was experienced in the adjustment of less successful nomadic hunters to living conditions in Frobisher Bay. (Ibid.; 214)

II. Translating Cooperatives Into Learning Centers

A lay observer must agree that the rehabilitative program conceived by the government was theoretically sound, but many problems hampered adequate execution of the program. First considerations, should have been given, to those chosen to develop the program. Peter Murdock was a flexible person who understood the entire concept of rehabilitation and was able to relate this to the terms of reference in Apex. However, he did not select the people who came to Apex and

he was unable to cope with two large problems; the instability of the rehabilitants and the fluctuation of government funds which supported the complete operation.

In the period of time they have operated, the cooperatives of Northern Canada have proved effective vehicles for Eskimo modernization. Cooperatives such as the Sisi Housing Cooperative and the Ikaluit Fishing Cooperative, provided many skills in organization and decision-making. Frank Vallee saw the cooperatives as an excellent example of social innovation among Eskimos. The greatest success is derived under the following conditions:

1. Where the Eskimos command resources and facilities which are regarded as valuable and scarce;
 2. Where in the pre-settlement period, leadership was channeled through one or two families of a strong band organization;
 3. Where there is no formal segregation between the Eskimos and Kabloona;
 4. Where no one Kabloona institution is overwhelmingly dominant in the community.
- (Vallee, 1967; 213)

Apex Hill, 1963, was the scene of the First Conference of Arctic Cooperatives. This conference provided many of the Eskimos with their first opportunity to meet Cooperative members from other settlements. Honigman comments about the learning situation at the conference.

The conference gave Eskimos experience with an agenda (conveniently mimeographed in syllabics), arranged by date and hour. That the meeting fell behind the agenda may well have taught delegates how hard it is for conferences to discipline

themselves. They also learned that an agenda needs to be approved and can be revised before a meeting begins. They agreed to a short set of procedural rules specifying, for example, that no man could talk more than once on an issue (a rule the chairman ignored). The hall's physical arrangements, with the neatly placed tables forming a rectangle open toward the stage where more tables laid end to end accommodated chairmen, interpreters, a secretary, and other speakers, could hardly have struck Frobisher Bay Eskimos as wholly novel. Some of them had been to Community Council meetings or attended sessions of the Community Association's board of directors, where tables also help to organize participants. The flag on the stage cast an air of national significance over the conference. Local delegates came appropriately dressed in business suits with ties; they tended to wear better fitting clothes than Eskimo delegates elsewhere.

The conference followed several years of educational efforts and advice in the field tendered to Eskimos by government representatives. In a sense the conference summed up, even, dramatized, what those earlier efforts had accomplished. The pupils, while not exactly facing examiners, had been brought together to demonstrate publically, the progress they had made in cooperative organization, with the possible result of reinforcing what they had done. Government officials constantly expressed the value that decisions respecting co-ops had been, and must continue to be, the people's own . . . The respect which officials paid to Eskimos, the dignity with which they treated delegates, could also stimulate the Eskimos further to pursue cooperative economic organization. We emphasize this atmosphere of support and encouragement, because, as we reported, subsequently during our stay several Eskimos did propose semi-public enterprises, in some instances being advised by local Eurocanadians, but also in face of white opposition.

(Honigman, 1965; 220-1)

Although some of these comments show the positive forces behind the Cooperative Conference, the true value of progress in terms of the Eskimos growth toward modernization was more significant than the sponsorship attitudes of the government.

A further example of learning at the more formal level centers around articulating economic and political values. The booklet, "Notes For A Basic Information Course", shows Eurocanadian perception of issues and indicates almost a non-compromising, even paternalistic attitude in regard to the ability of indigenous people to assume responsibility for their own affairs. (Spudz, 1966)

The cooperatives, whether focused directly upon the Rehabilitation Center or in conjunction with Apex Hill, were very real learning situations. Economic livelihood, day-to-day decision-making and cooperative planning constituted an excellent vehicle to integrate persons in an urban settlement. Other economic pursuits were frequently not available to the rehabilitants. The second essential component was the concept and meaning of community that was intrinsically inferred during the stages of developing cooperatives.

Formal learning in an educational center, as long as it was based on various aspects of cooperatives was very rewarding. A program might include English as a second language, techniques of communication using tape recorders, audio-visual filming equipment, microphones and radio, parliamentary procedure (modified), budgeting, ordering and purchasing and elementary business management that was directly related to the Rehab. Center or the cooperatives. Such courses should involve both men and women in the community.

The main objectives of Phase II education would be:

- a. to provide learning situations that are meaningful and objective as well as economically feasible; (Example - cooperative movement);
- b. to help students recognize the economic need for community participation;
- c. to apply communication skills in bilingual (Eskimo-English) situations and enrich the intercultural situation;
- d. to extend one's range of understanding beyond the community, realizing that others are also changing; and
- e. to begin to evaluate modernization in an urban situation, accepting and rejecting various aspects of it.

C. Phase III -- Participatory Action Among Eskimos At The Airbase Community

I. The Process of Accommodation

There was a distinctive shift in the government policy around 1961-63. The cooperative objectives were tested against a community development type model. This model was based upon participatory democracy concepts which allowed certain people to adapt more readily than others.

From a study of the previous descriptions of change that occurred in each of the phases in Frobisher Bay, there appeared to be a stage between orientation, integration or cultural dislocation, and true acculturation. This phase involved the acceptance or rejection of cultural items which are meaningful and necessary for townsmen to survive as a group and a community. The phase is called accommodation.

Often people begin to question reasons for altering particular patterns and reasons for actually living in Frobisher Bay. Conflicts, social disorder and, frequently, social deviance occur during the accommodative and developmental contact levels of adaptation. When cultural and social decisions were made in terms that were economically and politically viable, the Eskimos began to reaffirm their position within the community. After the stage of socio-cultural marginality, people began to feel comfortable. If the feeling is a cross-cultural and mutual thing, and both groups accept each other in relatively equal terms, the goal of acculturation is usually reached.

One assumption of sociocultural change is that change occurs in successive and irregular stages. As noted previously, there were definite lags between situations and the accompanying attitudes and values. The usual lags are between wage employment and the use of money, hours of work and the orientation to be dependable and on the job when required, demands of assembly-line production with little incentive to complete total tasks and the desire to obtain the goods and services of the community with little willingness to make decisions regarding the operation or administration of the community.

The second assumption, that change is uneven in various sectors of the spectrum is verified, in part, by the explanation given for the first assumption. The fact that people must be in a stage of readiness before they willingly change, further confirms that change cannot be pushed or forced

upon groups of people. There must be some intrinsic motivation within persons, within families and within social groups which projects people into action, gives them impetus to become involved, and provides stamina to meet individual needs in meaningful and significant ways.

The third assumption is that there could be a synthesis of the two distinct sociocultural groups into a new entity based on a mutual sharing in decision-making and other participatory democracy aspects in the community. This stage has not yet emerged in Frobisher Bay as a movement in which large numbers of people participate. Only a few persons, who will be described as the new elite, are examples of those who have resolved intercultural differences and formulated new patterns for living.

A. McElroy states (1968; 12), that Kabloona acceptability is the predominant factor which allows these people to be classified as "elite". Superficial attributes like modern dress, good-looks, command of English and personal cleanliness are the creditable qualifications that allow people into this group. Few are church attenders, and few pursue Inuit religious matters. Of note is that Simonie Alingna is not included in this group. He states proudly and emphatically that he is Eskimo, that Frobisher Bay should be an Eskimo community and that the government-employed persons are poor risks because of the short tenure of their stay in the North. He speaks more fluent English than others and works when he decides to as a skilled mechanical

generator man, and he ensures sufficient time-off to provide a large family with meat from the hinterland. He lives in Ikaluit and is an InnuIt accepted spokesman, a good model for many and commands authority. He hesitates to make cross-cultural contact with non-Eskimos.

McElroy noted other characteristics of the "acculturated elite". They were emotionally stable, with few transitional problems. They were bilingual and socialized across ethnic boundaries. They depended upon wage employment for livelihood. Hunting and fishing became recreational outlets and occasionally supplemented the Eurocanadian store-purchased foods. Most people in this group drank socially at F. A. R. A., the Legion and at private house parties. They went to movies and most of the dances. Few associated socially with Ikaluit people unless they were related or their work necessitated it. One Eskimo radio announcer collected folklore and adventure stories from one of the older residents of Ikaluit in an effort to preserve some of the old traditions. The elite group tended to remain within a sub-cultural enclave along with a set of young people from the Eurocanadian section. (Ibid,; 14)

When the group of young elites began to emerge and participate in community organizations, first in a Youth Club and then in recreational and council outlets, the first classifications of people according to class and status began to emerge. The Honigmans in their earlier study noted that:

In actuality, Eskimos do not discriminate classwise in their associations with one another. They fail to categorize themselves by combinations of markers including income, job, type of housing, or neighbourhood of residence. They don't use these or other groups for allocating different amounts of prestige and power to different categories of people. Eskimos recognize individual differences but remain classless. (Ibid.)

In 1966, Inuit persons in Airbase moved to make room for Eurocanadians who were new government employees needing family accommodation. These Eskimos relocated either in Apex Hill or Ikaluit. Among the Airbase Eskimos, two arguments occurred that signified a change in attitudes. Some wanted to avoid kinsmen who could become dependent so they chose houses in an alternative townsite. Others wanted smaller houses so they could exclude some family members. Another party refused to live at the base of the hill in Ikaluit and purchased a house and paid extra to have it located at the entrance of town. Few observers could decide whether he wanted to be noticed by everyone or whether he wished to keep account of other persons movements.

Class distinction has provided a base for measuring involvement according to the degree and tenure of wage employment. There was less opportunity for placement of Ikaluit persons over Apex residents. Upward social mobility had only a narrow range of opportunity unless the person held a job, spoke English and was accepted by the Eurocanadians.

Social stratification was evidenced during the first ten years of settlement living. By 1967, McElroy noted

alterations in sharing patterns, visiting patterns and friendship other than those of the kinship basis. These factors constituted the rudiments of social stratification among Frobisher Bay Eskimos. However, this existence of a rearrangement of class structure in socialization terms was more behavioral and interactional. Classificatory terms like "better" and "lower" were still not utilized as much as terms like "available" and "absent". She also noted that "Eskimos do not compare external markers of success or judge a person by what he possesses, but they are keenly aware of behavior and its implications". (Ibid.; 24)

More and more urban-dwelling Eskimos are:

- a. assuming responsibility for up-grading themselves;
- b. communicating their wishes to the government;
- c. participating at the community level to determine what they want and how they wish to proceed;
- d. articulating why they are interacting beyond the family group; and
- e. becoming committed and involved in modernizing themselves.

II. Translating Intercultural Learning Situations Into Education for the Accommodation Group

Most Eskimo people involved in this group have skills which indicate a better adaptation to Kabloona culture at a faster rate than others. Initial exposure to Eurocanadians was likely very positive due to receptive aptitude toward change and modernization.

Most Eskimos in the elite group have met the previous objectives of education that have been discussed during the orientation, rehabilitation, and accommodation phases. They communicated bilingually, possessed viable employment skills and were willing and able to participate, cooperate and make decisions. All of these factors enlarged their scope of endeavors to a larger and more significant base than just that of the community where they lived.

Two programs could be initiated at this level. One involved extending skills for wage employment. This could be approached in two ways. First, the person's job qualifications might be extended further in his chosen field. With improved skills in speaking, reading and writing in English, trade programs could become more normalized with apprenticeship programs or in-service projects. On the other hand, their present work experience could be varied to give a wider range of incentive to try new types of work and improve their occupational base. A second major consideration would be to extend a training program to a southern center as a work-experience project or to reconsider retraining in another allied occupational pursuit. An interpreter might assist an announcer to develop bilingual broadcasts or a heavy-duty equipment operator might gain from training in mechanics. Others might be encouraged to teach fellow Innuits occupational skills.

The main educational objectives at level three could be:

- a. to provide for an extension of learning in skills or occupation being pursued;
- b. to recognize the need for job retraining due to the fluctuating labor market;
- c. to continue to enlarge the sphere of activities of the more highly adaptive group;
- d. to begin to enlist the support of the elite type members in providing assistance to less-able people in the community; and
- e. to provide for continuity of cultural identity through participation at the community level.

D. Phase IV -- A Projected Identity - The New Eskimo Townsman As An Acculturation Model

I. Process of Emergent Leadership

A. Community Involvement

Eskimo people in Phase Four have become acculturated to Kabloona influences more readily than people in other phases of change. Many people have emerged as leaders among communities and find many satisfactions in performing these functions within their communities.

Worthwhile community organizations created a milieu for operation and provided training and helped develop confidence among Eskimo participants. Council memberships, community association groups, and cooperative involvement at the community level provided excellent training for political and organizational participation.

Many community development oriented programs have superceded cooperatives to benefit the competitive concepts within the community of Frobisher Bay. Beyond the community, there are also possibilities for regional alignment that can also benefit the cultural change. The cooperatives initiated a system whereby there was a regional interchange of materials and goods. Seal skins from Grise Fiord were shipped to Fort Chimo to make ookpiks that could be sold in Frobisher Bay and southern Canada. Soapstone came from Cape Dorset and the Arctic Quebec coast to supply carvers. Boats were made in Lake Harbour to supply fishermen and sealers in other northern communities. The interchange of materials and goods provided elementary skills in marketing of goods and exchanging ideas. This ongoing process stimulated a feeling of regionalism in the Eastern Arctic that became the basis for the fifth hypothetical phase of cultural development among the Eskimos. The Eskimos in Frobisher Bay shared a large part in the responsibility for establishing the priorities of a regional identity because of their influence with various home settlements and the sheer number of people that lived in Frobisher Bay. After reviewing the types of leaders involved in this group, there is a need to sub-categorize Phase IV Eskimo people. One group (A) fulfil its goals within the community of Frobisher Bay. These people have integrated and accommodated Kabloona life-styles and indicate a high level of acculturation. They constitute one category of townsmen that will be labeled, acculturated Eskimo.

On the other hand, some townsmen see outlets beyond their community. As they participate in regional, territorial, and national conferences and programs, these Eskimos (B) expand their outlook. They also identify themselves as Eskimo people, with unique northern characteristics. This category of Eskimo townsmen is involved in a more elaborate phase of development which will be hypothetically called identification of Eskimo prototypes. Few personalities are yet in this phase but within the next decade many present integrated townsmen may model themselves after this emergent Eskimo identification reference group.

B. Regional Identification

A review of Frobisher Bay conditions between 1958 and 1968, shows growth in and demand for a more complete incorporation of all groups within the town. But there is growing evidence, also, of the need for Eskimos to question the continuation of Eurocanadian and government colonial and paternalistic conditions. There is a growing need and demand for the Eskimos to assume positions of authority and gradually end the acceptance of government decision-making and domination both in Frobisher Bay and the Canadian North.

Many settlements throughout Baffin Island had lost community leaders of both the traditional and modern types. The community leadership vacuum was assumed by various government administrators, teachers, clergy, and Kabloona who were transient members of the northern communities.

It became increasingly obvious that northern communities would need to re-assert themselves, recognizing that Eskimos can participate in community development. A movement of Eskimo solidarity needs to identify the importance of Eskimos as leaders and community members who are also involved in regional development.

Frobisher Bay resembles many other communities in the Northwest Territories. Churchill, Cambridge Bay and Inuvik, as well as many Indian settlements in the MacKenzie, seem to be going through the same phases of modernization namely, orientation, rehabilitation, accommodation, and identification. In each case the young elite from each community, as well as the traditional leaders, are beginning to exchange views with each other. The problems that each group has had at various phases of development become patterned changes experienced in most communities where contact has occurred in the past decade. As people from the northern communities meet and exchange their ideas with others, a form of regionalism allows for discussions and interchanges to occur that are mutually reinforcing. The larger regionalization also provides new field in which the elite group can expand talents and challenge the system. In contrast to the community enclosure system of constraints, the pan-community outlook includes other outlooks and connotes other values. The growth of the regional network has come as a normal development which will lead to the establishment of a modern Eskimo identity in the Canadian nation.

II. Acquisition Of Education For Community Involvement And Regional Identification

The planning of Centennial Year celebrations and the Arctic Winter Games in 1968-69 and 1970, provided for representatives from both the Eastern and Western Arctic to meet together and plan community activities. Local government programs of the Territorial Government of the Northwest Territories created situations in which many Eskimos became involved in the local planning of hamlets. Local health and welfare programs trained lay health workers to promote hygiene programs and birth-control programs.

Innuitt Tapirisat (an Eskimo Brotherhood), was formed in 1970 to provide for a pan-Eskimo organization encompassing both Eastern and Western Arctic people.

At a meeting held in Coppermine, an Eskimo delegation spearheaded a request for participating in the educational program in the North. It read:

Bernard Gillie, Director of Education, Government of the N.W.T. and R.F. Battle, Deputy Minister, Social Development, and D.I.A.N.D., in Ottawa.

Whereas the Arctic communities, the present school systems of the Northwest Territories, and the Arctic Quebec, in that they fail to provide our children with a meaningful education suited to their environment, fail to preserve our native cultures and fail to produce useful Canadian citizens, we demand that action be taken now to implement the following: -- That each Community Council have a voice in the curriculum content so that native history, culture and skills be included as full credit courses. -- That each Community Council determine what vacation months during the year will apply to the community. The Southern Canadian standard of July and August is

almost universally unsuited to the wishes of Arctic communities. -- That more schools be provided as rapidly as possible to eliminate the absences from home for ten months per year for our children. -- That instruction in Native Language dialects in the primary grades be implemented now and not talked about for another ten or twenty years. We are decades behind the educational systems of Greenland and Siberia in this regard. That the program to utilize Native teachers and teaching aides be greatly expanded immediately.

Signed by Delegates of 22 Communities, July 18, 1970. (News of the North, July 1970; 3 c 5-6)

Other significant factors that have not been mentioned are the two types of training programs that were government-initiated. In 1964, a teacher-aide program was initiated in the Eastern Arctic to train candidates as assistants in classrooms where Eskimo was the major language spoken by the pupils. Later, in 1967, the Western Arctic began a similar program which included better qualified young people with Indian, Eskimo, and Metis background. In 1969, a post-secondary approach, the Experimental Teacher Education Program, began training teachers from intercultural backgrounds to teach in elementary schools in the N.W.T. After a one-year evaluative period, the N.W.T. Teacher Education Program assumed the status of a college and prepared northern students to teach school. The young people on the experimental program were enlisted to collect community histories, folklore, and to make a study of their particular language in an attempt to pass-on and preserve many of their traditions. An Opportunity for Youth Project, in 1971, furthered these efforts among Eastern Arctic people. Many of the young people who took the one and two year

programs have taught in the Northwest Territorial classrooms and have also returned to various universities in southern Canada to further their education.

Interest in continued formal learning encouraged adult education training programs which could provide lay personnel to teach specific courses. This type of program taught more and more people to become aware and to participate in regional northern affairs.

Vocational schools located in Churchill, Yellowknife, Inuvik, Fort Smith, and more recently, Frobisher Bay, have provided more adequate vocational and occupational training to accommodate the needs of the growing northern labor market. Although these schools meant hostel residency, this situation allowed young people to become friendly with other northerners and to grow socially and to accommodate many modern living ideas in new situations removed from their settlements. Many schools also organized student clubs and functions which provided leadership training and participation in democratic procedure.

The main objectives of education in phase four, categories A and B, could be:

- a. to provide an increasing choice of selection of vocational, occupational, and professional programs;
- b. to stimulate young people to be selective in their choice of careers to enable them mobility beyond the confines of the community;
- c. to motivate interest and participation in regional and national concerns;
- d. to promote a more competent economic, cultural, social and political base,

recognizeable within the context of Canadian regional development;

- e. to appreciate a unique cultural heritage which has become urbanized, technical, and modern within a short span of time; and
- f. to mature into participating, involved citizens at the municipal, regional, and national levels.

E. Summary Of Educational Objectives For The
Community Of Frobisher Bay

Within each phase of integration, educational objectives related to the sociocultural phases should indicate directions for change. For those people in phase one, orientation, the major objective should be to introduce those goods, services and facilities which are available in Frobisher Bay. For those people living in Apex Hill, the primary objective during rehabilitation should be to allow for adequate functioning as community members despite physical and emotional problems. During accommodation, a major objective would be to provide greater scope for people to increase their knowledge and skills in relation to economic pursuits, leadership roles, and sociocultural changes in an urban area. During the fourth stage, the main educational objective is to allow InnuIt autonomy during change. The over-all goal of education in Frobisher Bay is to allow Eskimos equal choice along with Kabloona in developing a modern urban intercultural community.

Chapter 6

A Home And Community Life Educational Project

Education can assist Eskimo integration during modernization. General educational objectives have been derived from an analysis of four phases of sociocultural change which occurred in Frobisher Bay. Educational programs with specific goals and objectives focused upon topics of home and community living will illustrate how changes can be directed by educators. Home and community topics included are:

Human Development and the Family;

Home Management and Community economics;

Housing and Community Living;

Regional Identity in the Northwest Territories.

The educators, whether professional teachers or people from the community, could use the topics for the orientation, rehabilitation, accommodation and identification of Eskimos. The unified and sequential program outlines education as directly affecting modernization and sociocultural change during integration in an intercultural community.

A. Relationship Between Integration And Education

Hawthorne states a simplified definition of education:

One definition of schooling is a community vehicle for socialization. Through it the child (adult) is provided with controlled opportunities for learning elements of the roles, including occupational ones, he will fill later on.

(Hawthorne, 1967; 7)

Usually the normal cultural transmission of culture goes on within the family unit. In small settlements, the community contributes only to a small portion of the entire education of the young people. As the Eurocanadian society extended its frontiers northward, the educational process became institutionalized and assumed other directions.

A relationship needed to be established between the Eskimo group, who in Frobisher Bay constitutes a minority, and the greater Canadian majority who project education onto the incumbents. Steward views integration by stating:

The "assimilation" of any ethnic minority, therefore means first that certain traits have been adopted from the particular subcultural group with which the minority had contact and second that certain aspects of the national culture have affected the minority culture to the extent of integrating it as a new subculture, that is, a specialized dependent part of the whole. (Steward, 1955; 47)

The minority group, in this case the Eskimos, especially those in the early phases of integration were caught in a dilemma. Due to the contact with the dominant society outside of Frobisher Bay, there was a new awareness of technical progress and its accompanying changes in attitudes among Eskimos. Their position is frequently downgraded . . .

in an ambiguous technical identification (that) stems from inferior living conditions reflected in a host of factors such as employment, living standards, social organization and intercultural relations with whites. (Hawthorne, 1967; 7)

Identifiable tendencies could be traced among the Eskimos who were involved in modernization. They remained persistent in maintaining ethnic identity. If they relegated themselves to a position of inferior status and measured their relative competency in terms of the Kabloona system, they often became dependent upon the dominant society. This dependency centered the blame upon the whites, and created misunderstandings between the two groups. On the other hand, if Eskimo people were independently making some of the decisions in their community, the network of communication encouraged involvement and participation which in turn generated pride and self-esteem among the minority group.

Formal education, by the same terms, is a new need. It could meet with resistance if it does not suit the needs of the people involved. Hawthorne sees a distinct conjunction between progress toward modernization and community involvement in education and decision-making. They need to be institutionalized at the community level to encompass all of the diverse segments of the intercultural situation. (Ibid. 166-174)

B. Need For Continuing Education

Education of Eskimo parents during modernization is one relatively effective means of promoting change and integrating people. Eskimo people in Frobisher Bay, like their counterparts, the Indian people, have experienced

education in various forms. Education, as considered in the context of rapid sociocultural change, has a relatively narrow definition. This definition resembles that given in a study among the Sioux.

The goal of the educational process is another issue which also affects that of the locus of control. Traditionally, formal education has had modest or specialized goals, such as furnishing the populace with the rudiments of literacy so that they could read Holy Scriptures or giving them the simple intellectual skills basic to the common manual arts; only an elite was given prolonged, intensive training of an abstract sort. With the public education movement, the school has been assigned, or has come to inherit, the task of fully socializing children through adolescence along with the assimilation of children of "deviant" ethnic backgrounds into the common American mould as a corollary responsibility. Where socialization and assimilation are the educational goals (rather than, say, vocational training) the school becomes in effect a challenge to the authority and wisdom of the parent generation. If some degree of control over the educational process remains with the parent group the conflict may be meliorated. But when the locus of control is elsewhere, then the school room may become the focal point of all manner of tensions, thus complicating the simple transmission of knowledge. On the other hand, stand adults who represent a particular, superordinate, civilized tradition; on the other hand, sit pupils in whom are to be inculcated the customs, values, and thoughtways different from and antagonistic toward those of their elders.

(Wax, 1964; 5-6)

For this educational project, womenfolk have been chosen because they directly influence the basic attitudes and values of the young. In contrast to the fathers, the women frequently spend more time with the young, are more concerned with the rearing of them and often have more time to associate themselves with home and community life

education courses. The mother does tend to influence the father's thinking regarding education, especially if she is acquiring attitudes that create demands for higher standards of living.

Adults included in the modern education process are motivated toward the self-fulfilling prophecy that they can successfully be involved in change. If provision is made for Eskimo people in the planning and organizing of programs pertinent to home and community life education, they can perform roles within the organization and generate attitudes of pride while participating in a meaningful way.

Certain intercultural problems can also be dealt with by involving the Eskimo people in planning and organization. Few Eskimo adults are able to identify the changes that are occurring to themselves and their community. Few identify their own positions relative to those of others. Few have defined goals which are suitable. Few are certain that the goals they choose can be achieved or are even suitable for particular persons. Eskimos could discover that they are persons located on a continuum of change which has moved from a relatively nomadic traditional and freely organized independent basis and developed toward an urban modern, and economically more complicated community network of rigidly organized institutions. A community program could conceivably deal with the process of modernization from the viewpoint of the minority segment within the context of the greater Canadian nation. At the home life education level, negative tendencies could be dealt with by competent leaders

and teachers. The tendency toward devaluation of Eskimos as individuals so that they cease to strive to participate will benefit nobody. Confusions and frustrations regarding change and modernization should be discussed, preferably in group discussions. Symptoms of psychological and social withdrawal by certain families should be dealt with on an individual family basis by a competent counsellor. A project of education for home and family life could conceivably be limited to the women and still accomplish many aspects of modernization.

The major concern in such a project is to emphasize the role that Eskimos can play in developing suitable programs for themselves. This illustrative project will emphasize home and community life as it relates to the women in Frobisher Bay. A parallel program should be designed for the men or for mixed groupings of adults. The dominant culture as the intruder group will receive little emphasis except as a group of resource persons.

Margaret Mead emphasizes the need for a total integrative education covering all areas of living, coping with the environment, interpersonal relations, and improving living standards both within the family and within the community. Mead also states that, another important factor to consider is that of creating a receptiveness to new needs or increasing incentives for change. The motivational force behind projecting new goals requires the use of group dynamic processes, (M. Mead, 1965) This means that the Inuit people in

Frobisher Bay participate and involve themselves and acquire education through various projects such as those concerned with home and community living.

In general, education tends to provide a mental and social framework for cultural progress. When people are granted freedom, they usually exercise the right to accumulate new goods, utilize new services, increase standards of living and progress toward modernization. Education can become the vehicle to expedite progress. Education, on the broad sense of the word, will become meaningful to those who participate in the process. The Innuït people involved in a home and community education project would exercise self-determination in making innovations that are explicit designed to take the best attributes and cultural objects from the two contact cultures. The end result of such a fusion of materials and ideas would not be a carbon copy of either one culture or the other, but a unique sociocultural system. (Bidney, 1960; Spindler, 1963; Mead, 1965; Eggen, 1963; and Fisher, 1966)

C. Levels Of Education

Educational needs for Eskimo people in Frobisher Bay is determined by the various stages of historical contact, the phases of sociocultural integration, and those processes of change.

The goal for Eskimo individuals is modernization for living in an urban setting. One end of the continuum

begins in the small remote encampments of people who subsist by nomadic hunting and gathering. At the other end of the continuum are large urban settlements which economically depend on a variety of wage employment skills or government support programs for livelihood.

In the small camps, the extended family transmits a culture for survival to the younger generations. The adults have rigorously prescribed modes of behavior which demand skills in hunting and fishing for the males and skills in sewing, curing hides, and preparing food for the females. There is a prescribed routine accompanied by ritualism to maintain peace with the spirits who influence the supply of foodstuffs. From a very young age, the young learn from the adults the ritual and routine connected with the life cycle of nomadic living in northern climates. Much of the education is by imitation of examples provided in real life situations. Much of what is learned is unconsciously and informally. Education at this level, is non-institutionalized and is simply a process of cultural transmission. The myths, legends, and genealogical relationships provide the major abstract thoughts which are incorporated into this type of education.

With the advent of contact cultures influencing the Innuits, education took on a more structured feature. The Kabloona reference group of traders began to label and designate categories for the Innuits. The skills of the Eskimos produced abundances beyond their immediate needs so that they had surplus to trade and barter. The

Kabloona provided tea, flour, grenfell, and hunting equipment in exchange for furs. The InnuIt acquired a new need for trader goods and strived to provide more and more items for barter and to trade more frequently with those who came to their shores. Initially, Eskimos associated settlement-living with the ability to procure store-purchased items. A new form of symbolization, concerned with money and exchange, had altered old patterns. New communication channels opened up new avenue of thought and the entire process filtered down even to the remote settlements. Even health services and religious groups symbolized a new way of viewing the world for most InnuIt on Baffin Island. (See Table 3, p. 136a.)

A third level of learning is concerned with formal education. When most Eskimos moved into settlements, they were subjected to various degrees of multi-leveled institutions. The churches, the health services, the schools, welfare plan schedules, and work tasks were routinized on a time and money basis. Transportation opened up the north and people could travel from settlements very quickly. Communication by radio and other networks intruded upon the ritualistic and routine life cycle of persons who strived to keep the old Eskimos way of life.

Each of the levels of learning; the informal, the semi-formal, and the formal, are much in evidence in Ikaluit, Apex, and Airbase sections of Frobisher Bay. An old gentleman supported himself and seventeen members of an extended family from the resources obtained from carving religious

Eskimo themes in soapstone. His family participates in as many of the InnuIt skills as they possibly can within the town of Ikaluit. Although he enjoys Kabloona visitors, he always impresses them with his InnuIt cultural traditions. unconsciously an observer discovers that here is a person who is proud to complete his life-cycle doing the routine and ritualistic things that to him are more important than changing to a modernistic life style. The Apex residents continue the cooperatives and show a semi-formal acceptance of this type of organization because they have gradually acquired skills which provide an exchange of time, energy, and skill for money and comfort. The more complicated economic structure involved in full-time wage employment on a regular time schedule of a five-day week is a formal aspect of modernization that only a few InnuIt families have fully accepted. A fourth level of sophisticated education is concerned with teaching others in the community the benefits of modernization and change and formulating a plan of action for all northern Eskimos.

Cultural transmission as evidenced in the orientation stages of pre-contact and when people first arrived in Frobisher Bay was aimed primarily at enculturation of the young into the InnuIt life style. When two cultures come in contact, various semi-formal educational processes change the aims of both the interacting cultures. Often conflicts and frustrations occur because the traditional culture is frequently unaware of the circumstances which surround the intruder culture (Kabloona), or the processes

which it tries to persuade the InnuIt to adopt. During this phase of integration toward acculturation, the Kabloona culture in Frobisher Bay became the reference culture.

It projected new goals, new social modes of behavior, new economic influences and established institutions which came highly formalized. Education in school situations was one such influence that created distinctive changes among the Eskimo people whether they live in Ikaluit, Apex Hill, or Airbase. Education definitely became a vehicle for integration among Eskimo townsmen.

D. A Projected Plan And Its Educational Relevance

Norman Chance studied Eskimo integration in various settlements in Alaska. Three factors were studied. They were the Kabloona-InnuIt contact situation and the amount of exchange between contact groups, the shift in Eskimo Identification toward a Western orientation, and the personality adjustment of the Eskimos. He states that after consideration of educational factors such as amount of formal education, use of English and wage employment, women suffered from more stress and tension than the men. He attributed this to the fact that men were exposed to modernization more frequently than the women and are therefore able to identify a more complete cultural base. The women, on the other hand, have difficulty identifying a complete segment of Western culture because they are home-bound and not involved in wage employment or Kabloona-InnuIt relationships on an extensive basis. (Chance, 1966; 96-97)

Hughes uses a model when assessing Alaskan change that is relevant to a home and community education project in Frobisher Bay. The following suggestions are made:

- a. Some similarity in status attributes between the individual and the reference group must be perceived or imagined, in order for a comparison to occur.
- b. It is the institutional definitions of the social structure which may focus the attention of members of a group or occupants of a social status upon certain common reference groups.
- c. Preparing people for new roles is called anticipatory socialization. Although this may be functional for the individual in an open system, it is apparently disfunctional for the solidarity of the group or stratum to which he belongs.
- d. The young people identify with no parental or other generational models provided by elders. The collective sentiments of the group are disrupted and anticipatory socialization is disfunctional for the solidarity of the Eskimo group.
- e. A problem of shifting standards of adequacy exists. This is referred to as relative deprivation. The Eskimos standard of what is acceptable has changed and they deliberately discard an economic asset, even though they have feelings of loss, dissatisfaction and deprivation. (Hughes, 1967; 10-12)

One of the factors which influence the three types of learning; the informal, the semi-formal, and the formal, is the reference group which is accepted by various people at the various phases of integration. The elite Eskimo would be the reference for a number of young, fairly well-educated Eskimos who had job training and a good command of the English language. The Airbase people would provide acceptable models for many people in Apex Hill and also for

a good number of Eskimos in Ikaluit who were becoming integrated. In turn, the Apex Hill non-welfare persons would become the reference group to the majority of Ikaluit people. From the group immediately preceeding, a number of persons could be trained to act as group leaders or as educators and transmit the next higher goals and attitudes directly to the group which was less acculturated.

The paradigm (Figure 5) illustrates how particular groups of Eskimo people in Frobisher Bay might be encouraged to change through education. An example of how this paradigm works, can be incorporated into an informal educational learning situation designed for Ikaluit people who are becoming oriented to urban modernization. The teacher arranges for a small group of Ikaluit women to visit in an Airbase home. These women are served a macaroni and cheese casserole. One woman enjoyed the flavor and inquired about it. She was sufficiently motivated to save money from family allowance in order to purchase necessary ingredients at the local store. She prepared the dish and received compliments from the family. From the rewards for innovative action in the family meal preparation, this woman received sufficient encouragement to explore other store purchased foods and experiment with new recipes. Functional change occurs in conjunction with other educational benefits. These could include learning to prepare nutritious balanced meals, budgetting money to allow for store purchased food-stuffs, incorporating hinterland meats into different flavored dishes and planning meal preparation on a weekly basis.

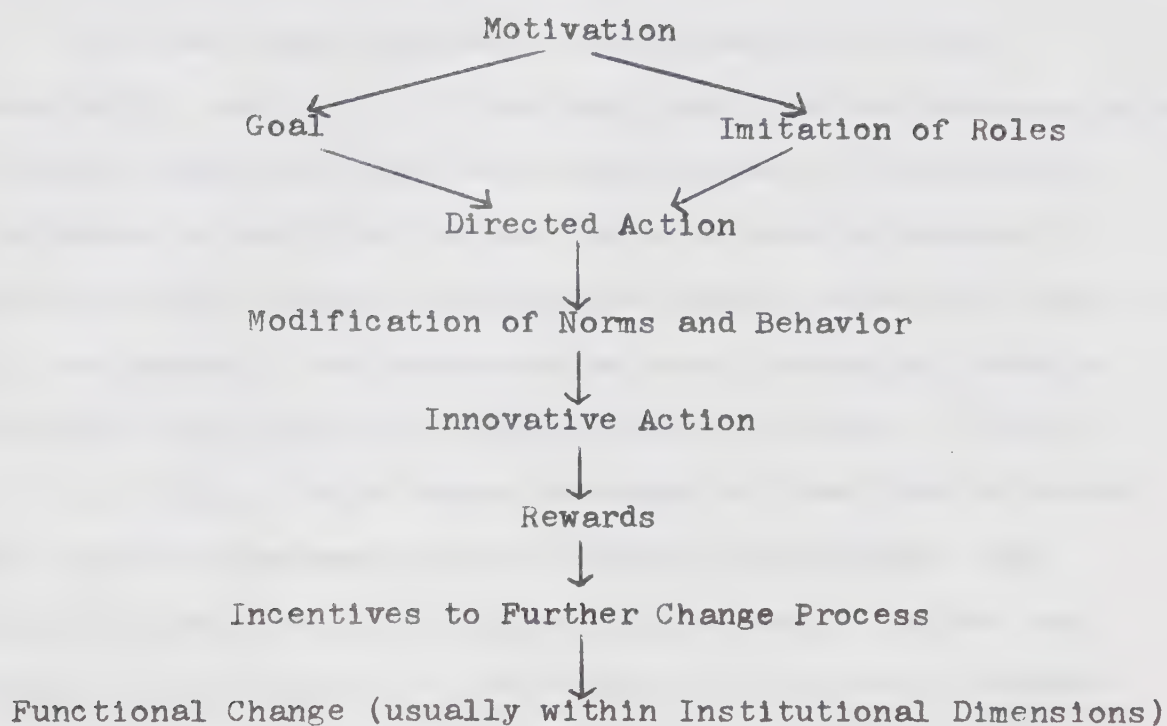


Table 3. Processes For Changing Home and Community Life

This model is based on Malinowski's Model for institutional change. (Malinowski, 1947)

This example illustrates the Eskimo orientation to store purchased foods. An Eskimo from the accommodated phase three Airbase section is able to motivate a less acculturated person to direct actions, achieve small goals, and receive sufficient incentives to explore new approaches to food preparation for family meals.

One new change generates other changes to occur. Eventually, new levels of desires, goals and achievements evolve from one phase into the next higher phase of integration. The behavior modification and its accompanying changes in attitudes and values interlock and relate members of families to the community and encompass an ever increasing range of opportunities, similar to those cited by Hughes. (Ibid.)

By 1970, a large number of materials had been allocated and various programs had been started in Frobisher Bay. Some involved community projects which would involve the women of the community in various ways to prevent problems such as Chance cited previously. (Chance, 1966; 96-97)

The following materials had been prepared as educational guides for teaching girls and women in the community. Many were well illustrated and some were printed in Eskimo syllabics as well as English. They included the following:

- a. Junior High School Curriculum Guide In Home Economics, 1963, (revised 1965);
- b. Practical Programs In Homemaking And Related Activities, (1964);
- c. Foods For Health, Pupil's Handbook, 1964, (revised, 1966);
- d. Teaching Home Economics, 1970;

- e. Northern Cookbook, Ellis, Eleanor A., Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967;
- f. Social Hygiene Guidance Course (Family Life Education), mimeo, 1970.

Materials were also produced as they related to Sex Education, Child Care, Budgeting, Interior Decorating, Course For Training Lay Dispensers, Child Care Workers, and others.

Unless the teacher was knowledgeable about using flexible approaches to specific communities, the curriculum guides and programs, while they furnished subject matter guides, tended to be a hindrance in meeting the three levels of learning in a home and community education. Rose Ookpik, an Eskimo woman from the elite group of acculturated women, stated that she went to the foods course primarily to taste the new foods and share her reactions with her friends. Sewing with a group of women provided a social outing and often got her started on a new dress that she hadn't found the opportunity to start at home. Most of the ideas in foods and cooking were either too complicated to do even with her relatively well-equipped kitchen, or the ingredients were not obtainable or too expensive. During a summer interview in 1969, Mrs. Ookpik suggested that courses should be taught by modern young Eskimo women so that they would be relevant to the women taking the course. She also felt that more women would take the courses if the teacher spoke Eskimo. She stated,

The ideas need to be useable. They need to be cheap. And we should have the things in our houses or know where to get them cheaply.
They (The Teachers from the South)

should not make fun of our ways. They worked for us before you came."

(Mrs. Rose Ookpik, 1969)

Although Frobisher Bay is urbanized, it lacks some of the qualities of a fully-integrated community. Many social problems occur and many of these are the problems of marginality of the InnuIt population who use Western orientation as the goal that they are trying to obtain in the integration process. Certain elements are becoming apparent. These are:

- a. rapid increases in population due to higher birth rate;
- b. increasing number of people without occupations;
- c. increasing number of illegitimate and non-adoptive children;
- d. working mothers and no public day-care centers;
- e. literacy programs without skills training for jobs; and
- f. more leisure hours with social problems created by boredom and lack of recreational facilities.

A totally unified program which includes most adult family members in an adult community college could provide segments of education which would solve some of the recurring problems.

A community college could conceivably create a balance between independence and dependence, and between Eskimo enculturation and Western acculturation. Flexibility would allow persons involved in the program, whether they be Eskimos or Kabloona, to make decisions affecting the nature of the

programs. The content of specific courses and the persons who do the teaching should be decided by the Eskimo community.

A program developed at Rough Rock, Arizona, influenced many subsequent program proposals. One such design was developed for the proposed Indian Education Center in Alberta. It provides an approach that is meaningful to a group of persons who desire to change.

The Home Education Learn Program (HELP) is basically, in its vital stages, a job training orientation program -- a grassroots manpower program aimed at developing those areas of personal concern which must first require the necessary ministrations in order to prepare an individual for the greater goals. The program content in itself is geared to the armchair level and couched in terms which are readily understandable by the Indian peoples at the reserve level.

The HELP program is a program of the people, by the people, for the people, in the beginning where the people were, where the people themselves would guide and control its destiny, its successes or perhaps its failures. It is a need of Indian people to re-discover self-confidence, dignity, pride, and self-respect. There is a need of Indian people to re-discover identity but to be able to meaningfully relate this identity to present society, to take their place in this society and with it, its responsibilities and the ability to discharge these same responsibilities.

The HELP program will help develop an attitude in a person. It is not only important to give a person a skill, for a skill without the attitude still makes that person a poor employee or leader. Within the home unit, values must be learned -- consumer values and the value of the dollar. The value of the country in which he was one of the original people and of which he is still very much a part, the need to appreciate, the need to build, the value of a job, the value of his relation to that job and industry, the value that he is an investment in the future, all these he must learn and the HELP program must teach this.

(Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970: 50-51)

From the above statement, one can assume that indigenous people do want to become involved in planning and decision-making programs that are relative to their communities and directly affect their lives. With this in mind, the following plan for action could create community integration and acculturation in a way in which Eskimos in Frobisher Bay would find acceptable.

E. A Guide For Directing A Home and Community Education Project For Eskimos In Frobisher Bay

A range of ideas are suggested to outline possible topics that can be dealt with at each of the various phases of acculturation in Frobisher Bay. The greatest task is that of making meaningful applications which develop concepts and which utilize processes that work in a northern community. In order to do such a project, special emphasis is placed upon the role of women, although the objectives can be altered to include all family members.

Four major areas of concepts and understandings are outlined for each phase of community education. These include:

1. Human Development and the Family;
2. Home Management and Community Economics;
3. Housing and Community Living; and
4. Regional Identity in the Northwest Territories.

The latter topic is included to provide alternatives when certain people seek outlets which extend beyond the boundaries of Frobisher Bay.

Each topic is based on a concept or understanding which is pertinent to a particular phase of Eskimo acculturation development. Goals in each sub-category of understandings provide guidelines for the directed action. Specific ways of handling the goals or objectives may be discussed between leaders and participants. Suggested types of people who could act as leaders and teachers are those that the participant observer believes would be most effective in presenting programs. For variety in presentation of format, various methods are proposed. Some methods which prove more effective than others should be noted in order that Eskimos handle ideas and use methods which appeal to them and with which visual devices, dramatics, role play, and video-tapes.

The following proposal is an outline for educational action aimed at providing learning in three levels; the informal, the semi-formal, and the formal. Toward this end, methods vary. Some are suggestive, others imply, and others are directive. The objectives as outlined in the previous chapter, although not explicitly followed, are used because they are relevant to this specific proposal. The relevance of this program to integration will be reviewed in concluding paragraphs at the end of each education level.

Phase One: Orientation To The Urban Center

1.00 Human Development and the Family

All families and kin-groups feel more secure when moved as whole family units.

1.10 Housing and accommodation should be provided in close proximity to family relatives who can provide a reference group to assist in making new migrants aware of the opportunities in urban situations.

1.20 Provisional introduction to goods and services should be selected and presented to the migrants. Only those items essential to survival and which extend a certain degree of traditional independence should be presented. These should all be related to small groups. This section should not frustrate recipients with meaningless ideas, but should be in response to the curiosity of those who have come into the urban situation recently. Needs would likely include the following:

1.21 Housing;

1.22 Medical and health facilities;

1.23 Schools;

1.24 Community resources for advice and assistance.

1.30 Inclusion as social members within the Eskimo community in urban settings is most important to the migrant family. If they have something worthwhile to contribute, they fill needed positions, feel needed and are able to maintain human dignity and pride in their traditions. A perpetuation of the Eskimo values and skills based in folkarts and interpersonal relations maintains social order and cultural identity.

1.31 Carving Skills

1.32 Folk history, travel and hunting adventures, folk music, dance and traditional folklore.

1.33 Eskimo communication skills.

1.34 Eskimo cultural transmission especially for children and youth.

Change Agents: The Eskimo para-professionals from among the Apex Hill or acculturated group could operate the orientation to urban living program.

Process: Respect and understanding for the items the Eskimo people have used traditionally and provision for these to be shown off to best advantages by use of radio and tapes or through movie production and displays of art.

2.00 Home Management and Community Economics

To maintain meaning to life and stimulate directions for suitable behavior, the community must fulfil a priority need which provides for needs but does not create dependency upon government agencies. This should be presented in non-paternalistic tones.

2.10 Provisional source of odd products. The environment may provide barely sufficient subsistence products.

2.20 Gradual transition from subsistence to accommodate certain essential products from the urban area.

2.30 Gradual need to utilize community services.

2.40 Gradual need to supplement income with assistance provided by the community.

Change Agents: An Eskimo lay professional trained either as an adult educator, a home-economics teaching-aide, or as a welfare worker could give valuable assistance in presenting a meaningful program.

Process: Selective identification of only essential items motivate change in behavior and promote successful adjustment and adaptation by Eskimos to urban living.

3.00 Housing and Community Living

To provide for urban accommodation and town planning that is flexible and can be decided by the Eskimos.

- 3.10 Plan the area for housing in proximity to the kin and family group relatives.
- 3.20 Utilize as much of what the family brings with them and let them choose their own types of living accommodation.
- 3.30 Government agents will need to insure that locations are in serviceable areas and that lumber and building materials are supplied upon request.

Change Agents: An Eskimo community development worker or cooperative member working in liason with the government administrator and his field officers.

Process: Participation in making decisions which allows for choice in building site and materials plus guidance and assistance in planning the residence. Flexibility should be highly valued as many of the locations and the building may be terminal.

Phase One -- Integration of Educational Objectives

The Phase One Program outlines an urban orientation to the Eskimos who are either traditionally oriented or recently relocated in Frobisher Bay. Selected materials focused around food, clothing, and shelter could provide introduction to goods and services available in the community of Frobisher Bay. The Eskimo people could be encouraged to participate in small familiar educational groups in an informal learning situation. They should be led to discuss the values of new items in the community, communicate with others and accept or reject non-useable items. Eskimo skills and knowledge could be incorporated more readily if the teacher or leader is fluent in the Eskimo language.

These suggestions indicate how the educational objectives outlined in Chapter Five can be related by a teacher through various content areas and methods, to orient Eskimos to modernization.

Phase Two: Integration To Eurocanadian Urban Living

1.00 Human Development and the Family

- 1.10 Communication of the alterations from the extended family to the nuclear family arrangements.
- 1.20 Promotion of basic communication skills in acquiring English as a second language.
- 1.30 Communication of the role of the family in the urban situation.
- 1.40 Encouragement of family socialization in the community of residence.

Change Agents: Members of the various reference groups who have lived in the community longer than this group.

Process: Developing Eskimo appreciation for their social structure and comparing it to Kabloona families through role-play.

2.00 Home Management And Community Economics

- 2.10 Facilitate and endorse the acquisition of urban skills, usually those that require provision of services to people and communities and mean job employment for Eskimos.
- 2.11 Types of skill and occupational training available.
- 2.12 Use of money and value for money in goods and services.
- 2.20 Introduction to the various types of assistance given to all persons.

- 2.21 Family Allowance.
- 2.22 Old-age Pensions.
- 2.23 Minimum family income (reference to the White Paper on Taxation).
- 2.24 Rejection of any of these.
- 2.30 Proper use and conservation of goods, equipment and services rendered by the community.
- 2.31 Gas, water, and garbage.
- 2.32 Radio and other media of communication.
- 2.33 Telephone.
- 2.34 Movies, bingos, recreational facilities, and public resources.
- 2.40 Use of trading companies and cooperatives in economic pursuits and products.

Change Agents: Members of the Community Council and the Housing Cooperatives, as well as skilled technicians to serve as resource people.

3.00 Housing and Community Living

- 3.10 Routinization of home and community tasks.
- 3.20 Comprehension of changes that need to be made within the community to give positive direction to changes in community life.
- 3.30 Involvement in re-organizing new life styles and patterns.

Change Agents: Members of the community organizations; an Eskimo community development person and resource persons who are aware of dynamics of Frobisher Bay.

Process: Group discussions, panels, coffee parties, and recreational participation; role-play and melodrama.

Phase Two -- Integration Of Educational Objectives

Education of adults in phase two is "semi-formalized". The object was focused upon economic changes during Eskimo rehabilitation. By studying the community in terms of resources, opportunities, and services that are offered, participants should be able to recognize a need for community participation and to extend their range of community understanding. The organization of time, money, and resources in a household, extends the aspects of management beyond those developed in the cooperative organizations. Valuing community development and communicating with officials in different government departments, provides opportunities to introduce the bureaucracy and other institutions to Eskimo people.

Phase Three: Accommodation And Decision-Making Regarding Home And Community Development

1.00 Human Development and the Family

This unit should provide for mediation between two cultural ways of home and community living.

- 1.10 Adjustment to new tasks within households with a re-orientation based on the changes from traditional division of labor to a sharing of responsibilities.
- 1.20 Adaptations to the expectations of various roles of family members in the urban situation.
- 1.30 Authority roles providing for a lack of extended family members participating in decision-making should be replaced by heads-of-household, who are encouraged to provide discipline and guidance.

- 1.40 Creating variety and competence in communication skills on an intercultural basis.

Change Agents: Social workers, community development workers, and home economists.

Process: Comparison of sociocultural changes, role play, and intercultural situations using films, records, tapes, and discussion techniques.

2.00 Home Management And Community Economics

- 2.10 Replacing and extending socialization patterns to include peer groups in the community.
- 2.20 Knowledge and explanation that families have different resources available to meet various economic needs.
- 2.21 Independent Ikaluit people are semi-dependent upon subsistence and social assistance.
- 2.22 Rehabilitation Center people who are receiving job retraining, cooperative organizational experience, and rehabilitation assistance.
- 2.23 Modernized Eskimos who are entering into full-time wage employment and have acquired some job holding skills.
- 2.24 Possibility of Eskimo entrepreneurship.
- 2.30 Involvement in community organizations in order to reformulate viable directions for change.
- 2.40 Participation in community development and providing assistance to persons less urbanized.
- 2.50 Decisions made to relocate in smaller settlements after rehabilitation program is completed.

Change Agents: Community development personnel and administrative field workers and operators of the cooperatives.

Process: Group discussion that includes decision-making experience related to economic pursuits, and reviewing alternative patterns for living because of certain handicaps and limitations.

3.00 Housing And Community Living

- 3.10 Development of skills to promote dignity and independence in "do-it-yourself" programs.
- 3.11 Individual Housing.
- 3.12 Community facilities for goods and services, and for recreation.
- 3.20 Seeing relationships in terms of location, proximity to good and services and beginning to help re-organize Eskimos into a distinctive community entity.
- 3.30 Gradually choosing and acquiring goods and commodities according to need and resources available.
- 3.40 Replacing subsistence commodities with store purchased items and allowing hunting and fishing to becoming recreational outlets.

Change Agents: The head-of-households, resource personnel with some knowledge in home management and town planning committees could give guidance to families.

Process: Weighing the value and the need for items to establish priorities. Discussion groups, and animated demonstrations organized among member of various communities within Frobisher Bay.

Phase Three -- Integration Of Educational Objectives

The advent of working women has changed the family unit and interaction patterns of family members in Frobisher Bay. If participants come to realize and accept new roles and divisions of labor, they will likely have gained understanding about the structures and functions of modern family units. Flexibility and continuity of modern Eskimo life styles are objective that will allow for continued accommodation and integration among residents.

Eventually Eskimos who are successful townsfolk, may be able to identify with proto-Eskimo types because of their involvement in educational areas, participation in community development and resourcefulness in the wage economy. The educational program is aimed at providing more formal programs incorporating group discussions about behavior and attitudes that reflect sociocultural changes in Frobisher Bay.

Phase Four: Integration And Change In The Community Through
Developmental Planning And Understanding

1.00 Human Development and The Family

- 1.10 Maximizing resources for family enjoyment and participation in the community.
- 1.20 Understanding the stabilizing and nonstabilizing forces operant in the home and the community.
 - 1.21 Role changes.
 - 1.22 Adult educational opportunities.
 - 1.23 Young people leaving home to attend schools in other centers.
- 1.30 Understanding the changes in social conditions that result or are created by urban living and increased standards of living.
 - 1.31 Consumer-producer relationships.
 - 1.32 Increased populations.
 - 1.33 Decrease in infant mortality.
 - 1.34 Increase in longevity.
- 1.40 Re-evaluating social behavior

- 1.41 Changing attitudes.
- 1.42 Re-organizing value systems.
- 1.43 Modifying behavior.
- 1.44 Developing a new order of social sanctions.
- 1.50 Dealing with and seeing alternatives to social problems.
 - 1.51 Illegitmacies vs. adoption.
 - 1.52 Common-law marriages vs trail and customary marriages.
 - 1.53 Alcoholism vs recreation.
 - 1.54 Gambling vs viable economic pursuits
- 1.60 Intercultural communication on a bilingual basis

Change Agents: Social development workers, teachers, sociologists and anthropolgists as resource personnel, persons engaged in radio and television production and announcing, and Eskimo community leaders.

Process: Cross-cultural comparison, historical contrasts, and re-evaluation of direction through group discussions.

2.00 Home_Management_and_Community_Economics

- 2.10 Family budgetting and planning.
- 2.20 Family decision-making and choice of directions regarding amount of integration desired by a individual family unit.
- 2.30 Family planning.
- 2.40 Family organization and provision for outlet of various family members in the community.
 - 2.41 Full-Time job employment.
 - 2.42 Wife working outside the home.
 - 2.43 Children and youth taking education and training in hostels and in southern locations.

- 2.44 Need for day-care facilities and kindergartens
- 2.50 Types of responsibilities as Canadian citizens.
 - 2.51 Income taxation.
 - 2.52 Unemployment insurance.
 - 2.53 Workmen's compensation.
 - 2.54 Contributing to pension and health schemes.
- 2.60 Realization and appreciation for technological changes, scientific advances and improvement of communication and transportation.
- 2.70 Maximizing resources, skills and endeavors to provide best individual talents to the community or to the cooperatives as intermediary agencies.
- 2.80 Participation in and observation of growth in other northern settlements through communication.

Change Agents: Family members make major decisions in consultation with others mentioned previously.

Process: Family planning and management in decision making and organizing sets of values.

3.00 Housing and Community Living

- 3.10 Participation in town re-organization for suburban living.
- 3.20 Being selective regarding choice of persons included in various town locations to promote harmony and toleration across kinship, ethnic and racial boundaries.
- 3.30 Provision for various outlets in recreation, social and cultural types of organizations and facilities.
- 3.40 Providing individual skills and talents to develop a community's resources.

Change Agents: as above.

Process: Involvement in community affairs and planning.

Phase Four -- Integration of Educational Objectives

One of the major educational objectives is concerned with the scope of occupations and careers available to Eskimo people. Long-range planning of community development is an essential part of northern policy. This could become the basis of a careers-oriented counselling program which allows Eskimos selectivity within the range of employment demands in Frobisher Bay. Educational opportunities extended to include adults, provided for more adequate training and extension of occupational skills. In order for complete utilization of Eskimos in employment circles, an educational program must also re-evaluate through group discussions the habits, attitudes, and values that accompany urban technology.

The employment of women creates unique situations which need to be understood within the sociocultural context of Frobisher Bay. New ideas such as household time and energy management, family planning, and child care centers should be introduced as aspects of modernization.

At this level, Eskimos need to be informed about and gain an appreciation for citizen participation at levels beyond the community. Job mobility, income taxation, unemployment insurance and pension schemes are topics that relate Eskimo workers to other working people in Canada.

Hypothetical Phase Five: Identification With Regional,
Territorial, And National Concerns

1.00 Human Development and The Family

- 1.10 Establishing autonomous family units on a modified independence basis.
- 1.20 Acceptance of socialization bonds other than those of families and peer groups.
- 1.30 Communication in intercultural basis with assistance from radio, television, press, and community organizations.
- 1.40 Provision for stability in the family as a functioning unit and as an economically independent unit.

2.00 Home Management and Community Economics

- 2.10 Gaining satisfaction from successful decision-making independence.
- 2.20 Gaining independence and stability in the family which has become an economically viable unit.
- 2.30 Accepting the challenge of re-organizing community structures from cooperative to competitive entities.

3.00 Housing and Community Living

- 3.10 Locating residences in proximity to Euro-canadians and integrated as residents.
- 3.20 Creating an intercultural community, example recreational activities.
- 3.30 Providing acceptable types of organizations, associations and facilities to promote community development and change, example, a child day-care center.
- 3.40 Provision of leadership and role models for less modern groups, example, extension courses in the evening.

3.50 Extending bilingualism.

4.00 Regional Identity In The Northwest Territories

4.10 Identification with pan-Eskimoism.

4.20 Participation in regional and national issues through meetings and conferences promoting change.

4.30 Making decisions and predicting direction for the future development of the North as a northern community in the Canadian nation.

Change Agents: The model reference group members who relate to the understanding and goals for each category.

Process: Regional and national conferences, tours and planning sessions. Native organizations which include Indian, Eskimos and Metis as well as those that cross economic boundaries such as rural and maritime economics and include persons from isolated and/or poverty areas or all those designated as under-developed.

Phase Five -- Integration Of Educational Objectives

When a group of integrated Eskimos are able to review how they have culturally altered their styles of living, they begin to make value judgments. People can realize the need for selectivity in job occupations, and accompanying changes in standards of living in urban situations. Behavior modifications reflect attitudinal changes. Many personal frustrations can be redirected toward community participation in programs which assist less integrated Eskimos to adapt to modernization. When an Eskimo has arrived at this phase of change, frequently he is able to see alternatives to integration. Often there is

identification with a modern proto-type Eskimo who is involved at regional and national levels.

F. Suggestions For Utilization Of Projected Plan

The projected plan contains objectives and suggestions that are specifically related to a home and community life education program for women. However, many of the topics are also pertinent to others. An intercultural educator will likely be able to adapt the objectives and specific programs to a variety of subject areas in a variety of methods. This projected plan outlines the scope and sequence that can be provided for people during sociocultural change.

One illustration of family participation could center around child care. Young expectant mothers attending pre-natal classes are planning on taking cooking and sewing classes after the baby arrives. They wonder about baby-sitting services. The nurse, social worker, teacher, and mothers-to-be consider the various possibilities for housing the course. The home economics cabin is suitable for classes but maybe a child-care center could be established. The father attends a meeting and becomes interested in building an addition to the community center where homemaking courses have been held. The men enlist the support of others, obtain funds from the social development department and build the addition. Although this is a hypothetical example for Frobisher Bay, people in Yellowknife have developed a child care center in conjunction with needs in an adult education literacy program.

The intercultural teacher or adult educator is an important leader in allowing Eskimo people to decide upon their own specific programs for their own specific needs. This is one reason why the projected plan generalizes concepts and processes. The participant observer realizes that over-directed and over-planned educational programs hinder the process of adult education among a minority. By utilizing members from Eskimo communities in teaching programs, the entire process of education fulfills the goals of more people in a meaningful way. An intercultural educator provides incentives, guides the program around educational objectives and allows for Eskimo participation in planning and teaching.

The idea of a community college for continuing learning would provide an institutional basis for a center for home and community life education. Within this framework, such a proposal could be integrated into various departments such as English literacy, guidance, counselling, career-planning, economics, and social studies. If the college for adult education included technical subjects the concepts of understanding could be dealt with more informally in conjunction with time, energy, money management, management-labor relationships, and extension of skills for labor market pertinent to people who were fairly well integrated. During phase one and phase two, groups could be organized informally in the homes, in existing school facilities and community centers. All phases of continuing learning should be structured in such a way that provision is made to meet the

educational needs of Eskimo people at various levels. Learning should be planned to promote continued growth and participation of Eskimos in the program.

G. Summary And Conclusion

Education has become an essential in the process of modernization. It is the vehicle through which a group of people have changed through sequential stages from nomadic subsistence involving hunting and gathering to whaler-trader cooperative relationships that led to settlement living. Eventually people migrated into a large urban community such as Frobisher Bay where they had to adopt new modes of behavior to fit into the changing northern economy. The complex traditions of Eskimos were modified and new identities emerged within the urban setting. Social and cultural attitudes and values altered when persons were ready to accept modernization with its increasing complexities. Educationally, there has been a rapid transition from the acquisition of cultural transmission of survival skills within the family unit to those formal skills taught by southern community teachers in modern northern classrooms and schools.

In the midst of urbanization and modernization, certain Eskimo features still exist. The individual and the family unit retain a unique Eskimo character. Few homes, although they are modern three bedroom units, are so sophisticated that they exclude members with extended family ties. The

familiar friendliness, helpfulness and cooperation still exist despite outward penetration of Eurocanadians. Children in an Eskimo household are very important, independent, and resourceful people who possess much freedom sanctioned by their parents and other family members. The adults may be wage employed but fundamentally this only provides material comforts that did not exist for them prior to moving to Frobisher Bay. Now they are an integral part of a newly accepted pattern of urbanization. Visiting patterns reflect new social alignments which have resulted from economical and community involvement.

Some Eskimos have failed to change. They have maintained an almost pure Eskimo identity and have lived on welfare of relief to sustain their existence. Usually their off-spring have been handicapped during their efforts to adapt to formal schooling and occasional employment because of the attitudes of their parents.

Many Eskimos rationalize that change has created better situations. The decline of animal resources, the lack of constant fur markets and the invasion of the North by southerners has created a new environment. Most Eskimos have accepted these inevitable factors and have therefore adjusted quite readily. Those who rejected change remained isolated, while those who were particularly receptive gained recognition as leaders. As parents those who adopted modernization also promoted change through their children who would in turn, influence oncoming generations.

The major concern now facing Frobisher Bay Eskimos should now be that of planning the long-term objectives which can promote growth and change in a positive way. General education of adults can guide change if it is developed by good communication, adequate participation and involvement of Eskimo people. In this way education can contribute to development of northern Canada in a meaningful and significant way.

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